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THE JESUIT RELATIONS
AND
ALLIED DOCUMENTS

VOL. XXXVIII



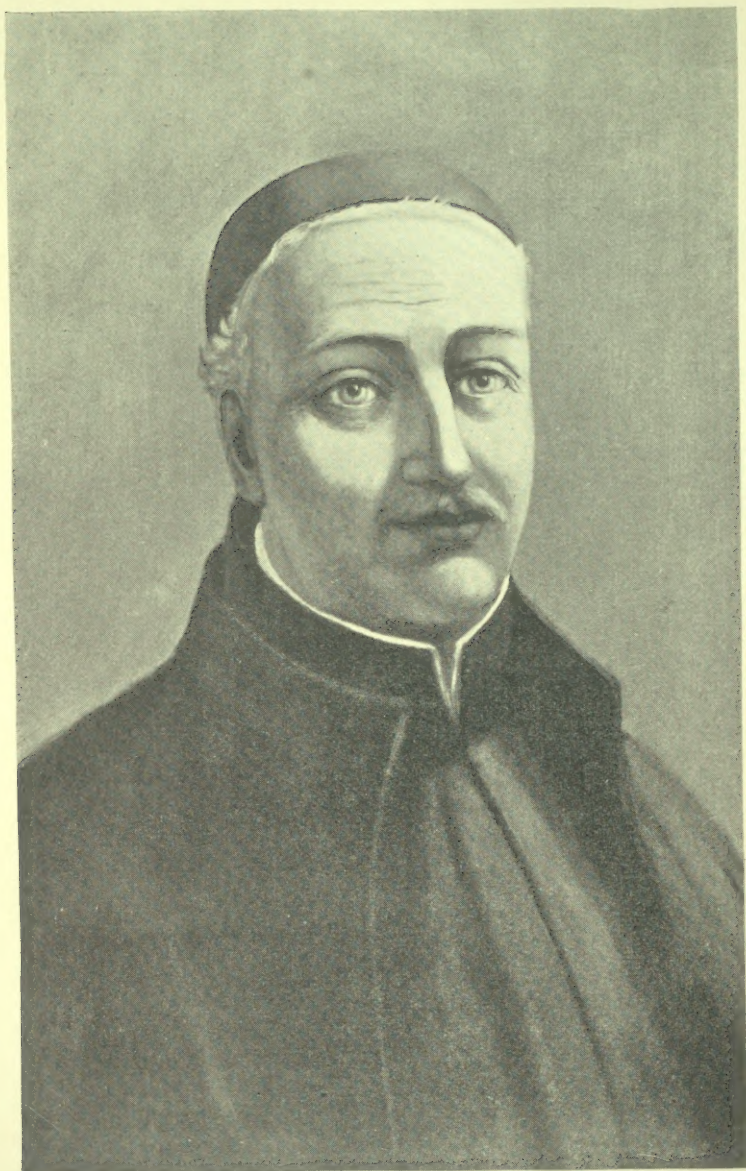
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PAUL RAGUENEAU, S.J.

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The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents

TRAVELS AND EXPLORATIONS OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES IN NEW FRANCE

1610-1791

THE ORIGINAL FRENCH, LATIN, AND ITAL-
IAN TEXTS, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLA-
TIONS AND NOTES; ILLUSTRATED BY
PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND FACSIMILES

EDITED BY

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES

Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin

Vol. XXXVIII

ABENAKIS, LOWER CANADA, HURONS

1652-1653

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CONTENTS OF VOL. XXXVIII

PREFACE TO VOLUME XXXVIII	.	.	9
---------------------------	---	---	---

DOCUMENTS:—

LXXXI.	Relation de ce qui s'est passé av pays de la Nouvelle France, depuis l'Eté de l'année 1651. jusques à l'Eté de l'année 1652. [Chaps. viii.—x., concluding the document.] <i>Paul Ragueneau</i> , Ke- bec, October 4, 1652; <i>Marie de</i> <i>l'Incarnation</i> , Kebec, 1652	.	15
LXXXII.	Journal des PP. Jésuites. <i>Paul</i> <i>Ragueneau</i> , <i>Hierosme Lalemant</i> , and <i>François le Mercier</i> ; Quebec, Janu- ary—December, 1653	.	167
LXXXIII.	Breve Relatione d'alcune missioni de' PP. della Compagnia di Giesù nella Nuoua Francia. [Part I., Chaps. i.—iv., first installment of the document.] <i>Francesco Gioseppe</i> <i>Bressani</i> ; Macerata, Italy, July 19, 1653	.	203
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA: VOLUME XXXVIII			289
NOTES			293



ILLUSTRATIONS TO VOL. XXXVIII

- I. Portrait of Paul Ragueneau, S.J.; photo-
engraving from oil portrait by Donald
Guthrie McNab *Frontispiece*
- II. Photographic facsimile of handwriting of
Paul Ragueneau; selected from his de-
position relative to the martyrdom of
Jogues, written in 1652, and preserved
in the archives of St. Mary's College,
Montreal *Facing 48*
- III. Photographic facsimile of title-page, Bres-
sani's *Relatione*, 1653 206

PREFACE TO VOL. XXXVIII

Following is a synopsis of the documents contained in the present volume:

LXXXI. The first seven chapters of the *Relation* of 1651-52 were given in Vol. XXXVII.; we here present the remainder of the document. Chaps. viii.-ix. are written by the superior Ragueneau; the final chapter is compiled (apparently by the Paris editor) from a biographical memoir of Mother Marie de St. Joseph,—assistant in the Ursuline convent, who died April 4, 1652,—written by her superior, Mother Marie de l'Incarnation.

The account of the Abenaki mission, begun in the preceding volume, is here continued by Ragueneau—recounting the readiness of that tribe to receive the faith, and their earnestness and zeal in following it. Visions and miraculous cures have often rewarded their devotion. They are exceedingly attached to Druillettes, their missionary, and hold him in great honor,—a feeling which the English settlers on the Kennebec also share. The Indians of Narantsouak (Norridgewock) publicly adopt the Father as a member of their tribe, and regard him as its head. The leading men denounce drunkenness, sorcery, and polygamy. They beg Druillettes to remain with them, and only the command of his superior induces him to leave these disciples.

The ninth chapter describes the attacks with which

the Iroquois have harassed the French settlements during the summer, especially that at Three Rivers,—for which material is furnished by a letter received from that place. Nearly the same ground is traversed herein as in the *Journal des Jésuites* (in the volume preceding this), but with more detail of circumstance. As a climax to all their anxieties and dangers, the report comes that the Iroquois clans are preparing for a general and united attack upon the French settlements during the coming winter. The writer appeals for aid from France in this time of need,—saying that the country is now practically self-supporting, and that it needs only to have a few hundred workingmen sent hither each year; these would be at once an aid in the development of the country, and a defense against the Iroquois. A similar request is also made by Noël Tekwerimat, the Sillery chief, in a letter which he writes to Father le Jeune.

Thus far the *Relation* proper; it is followed by a long account of Mother Marie de St. Joseph, the Ursuline nun. Her childhood is characterized by devoutness and purity, and she would rather read the lives of saints than play with her comrades. Having been sent to an Ursuline convent for her education, she resolves to become a nun; and, although she has not reached the age required for the novitiate, her entreaties are so importunate that she is admitted thereto. A dream sent from Heaven gives her strength to resist the efforts made by her family to keep her with them; and, at the age of sixteen, she takes the veil, in the Ursuline convent at Tours, where she greatly edifies all. At the call for nuns to go to Canada with Madame de la Peltrie, Marie de

St. Joseph is chosen as the companion of Marie de l'Incarnation, and goes with her to Quebec. Her intense devotion to the Holy Family is rewarded with visions and ecstasies, even more than ordinary. Her virtues are described at length, notably her humility, obedience, and purity. In Canada, she learns both the Huron and Algonkin tongues, and instructs the savages in the faith, becoming the spiritual mother of many souls. The attacks of the Iroquois upon the French, and this nun's failing health, lead her relatives to entreat that she will return to France; but her devotion to her work is so great that she steadfastly refuses to leave it. In one of her visions, her Lord tells her that hereafter she will "live only by faith and crosses;" from that time, she begins to fade away, and dies from consumption and asthma,—at the last, suffering intensely, but evincing the utmost patience and resignation. After her death, her spirit holds communication with a friend in Quebec, and saves his life by warning him of approaching danger.

LXXXII. The *Journal des Jésuites* (kept by Ragueneau, until August 9; during the next ten days, by Jerome Lalemant; and thereafter by François le Mercier) gives but a meager record for the earlier months of 1653; there is but one entry previous to April 10. On the 21st of that month, news comes from Three Rivers that sixteen Frenchmen there—servants, sailors, and others—have run away, intending to leave the country. Two months later, Indians from Gaspé tell at Quebec the disastrous result of this escapade; several of these French fugitives have died from hardship and privation, "and there were indications that they had eaten one another." On

May 12, Jacques Junier, a Jesuit donné, runs away from Sillery, after having been in the service of the mission for twenty years. A fortnight later, some Massachusetts Indians bring a letter from Rev. John Eliot, asking for the release of certain savages, their allies, captured last year by the Algonkins,—a request which is granted.

With the coming of summer, the Iroquois again infest the river, directing their murderous attacks against isolated farm-houses, laborers in the fields, fishermen setting their lines, and stray Huron and Algonkin savages, even when in considerable bands. The danger and loss are greatest at Three Rivers, and aid is quickly sent thither. News is brought, July 20, that the New England colonists are undertaking war against the Dutch and the Iroquois; and, ten days later, that the Algonkin tribes of the North, with the remnant of the Tobacco and Neutral tribes, are assembling beyond Sault Ste. Marie, to unite against the Iroquois.

August 6, the mail from France arrives, in which are received letters appointing Father le Mercier as superior in Canada. Pending his arrival (about ten days later) from Three Rivers, a vice-superior is named, Jerome Lalemant. Lalemant, in this brief time, writes in the *Journal* a full and highly interesting account of the ecclesiastical status of the Jesuits in Canada, and the relations of the church there to the diocese of Rouen,—matters regarding which much dissension has already arisen, and which are to bring about, but three years later, an entire reorganization of ecclesiastical affairs in Canada. Le Mercier continues the record, beginning August 21; his first entry describes a battle near Montreal, in

which the Iroquois are defeated by the Hurons, losing several of their number. From the captives, the French learn much news from the South,—one item, of alarming import, that a troop of 600 Mohawks had started, thirty days before, to attack Three Rivers. But an hour later, the tidings come that Father Poncet and another Frenchman have been carried away as prisoners by the enemy. A party of Frenchmen at once start in pursuit of the captors; but, on the next day, they hear that Three Rivers is already besieged by the Mohawk band just mentioned, and they at once go to the relief of the town. The siege lasts over eight days, and the cultivated lands around the fort are laid waste; but the enemy begins then to talk of peace, and presents are exchanged on both sides. The Mohawks raise the siege, and the chief at their head sets out to pursue Poncet's captors. Ambassadors from the Onondaga tribe come, about this time, to treat for a peace. They reach Quebec soon after the beginning of a church jubilee; processions march through the streets daily, conspicuous in which are "more than four hundred fusiliers, in fine order,"—a sight which must have confirmed the peaceful predilections of the envoys.

Father Poncet arrives at Montreal, October 24, "in a wretched canoe, and dressed in Dutch fashion." He is conducted by some Iroquois, with whom, again, presents are exchanged; and feasts are made for them by the Jesuits and the Hospital nuns. Various complications arise in the relations between the Hurons, Iroquois, and French; and a council thereon is held at the Jesuit residence, November 19.

LXXXIII. The *Relations* of the Jesuit missions in Canada, being written in French, had, of course, but a limited circulation in other countries than France, outside of ecclesiastical circles. These missions had now been carried on for twenty years, and the Roman Catholics of Europe felt general interest in them, as conducted by priests of an order within that church. To satisfy this interest in Italy, Francesco Bressani—who had been one of the missionaries in Huronia, from 1645 to 1649—wrote, after his return to his native land, the *Breve Relatione*. It gives, in popular style,—and often abridged from the *Relations* and other contemporary documents,—an account of the Canadian Indians (especially of the Hurons); of the Jesuit missions among them, and the difficulties incident to their conversion; and of the death of Jogues, Daniel, and other missionaries who have fallen at their posts in this arduous service. He begins with the situation and natural features of the country called New France,—discussing at length the causes of its extremes in climate; with a brief mention of its earliest discovery, and of the French settlements thus far made therein. He then describes the Huron country, and enumerates the tribes beyond it; and gives an account of the customs, clothing, characteristics, and government of the savages among whom he had labored during four years. In the main, these chapters traverse the same ground as do the *Huron Relations* of 1636 and 1639 (Vols. X., XVII.).

R. G. T.

MADISON, WIS., January, 1899.

LXXXI (concluded)

RELATION OF 1651-52

PARIS: SEBASTIEN ET GABRIEL CRAMOISY, 1653

The first seven chapters of the *Relation* were given in Volume XXXVII.; we here present the remaining three chapters, thus concluding the document.

[92] CHAPITRE VIII.

DES BONNES DISPOSITIONS QU'ONT LES ABNAQUIOIS
POUR LA FOY DE IESUS-CHRIST.

LE P. Gabriel Druillettes nous donne dans ses Memoires quatre ou cinq belles marques des riches dispositions, & des grandes inclinations qu'ont les peuples qu'il a vizitez, à la foy de Iesus-Christ.

[93] La premiere est tirée de leur foy, qu'ils ont conferuée, & qu'ils ont augmentée pendant trois ou quatre ans, quoy qu'ils n'ayent eu aucun maistre, ny aucun Docteur pour cultiuer cette premiere graine, & cette premiere semence qu'il auoit iettée dans leurs cœurs, comme en passant, & fort à la haste. Cette foy leur fait croire que celuy qui se plaist dans les ames simples, les auoit extraordinairement fortifiez dans leurs tentations, & qu'il les auoit gueris miraculeusement de plusieurs maladies.

Ceux que j'auois instruits fort legerement, dit le Pere, ne faisant encore que begayer en leur langue, ont recité constamment tous les iours les prieres que ie leur auois enseignées. Ceux que j'auois baptifez en des maladies que ie croyois mortelles, n'osant pas dans ma premiere visite confier ce Sacrement à ceux qui iouyffoient d'une pleine santé: ceux-là, dis-je, publioient par tout, que le Baptisme leur auoit donné la vie; & comme ils auoient appris qu'il falloit confesser les pechez où l'on tomboit apres la reception de ces eaux salutaires, ils n'attédoient pas qu'ils

[92] CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE GOOD DISPOSITION SHOWN BY THE ABNAQUIOIS
TOWARD THE FAITH OF JESUS CHRIST.

FATHER Gabriel Druillettes gives us, in his Memoirs, four or five beautiful proofs of the abundant disposition and cordial inclination felt for the faith of Jesus Christ by the peoples whom he has visited.

[93] The first is drawn from their faith, which they have preserved and increased for three or four years, although they have had no master or Teacher to cultivate that first germ and seed which he had sown in their hearts in passing, so to speak, and very hastily. That faith made them believe that he who takes pleasure in simple souls had, in an extraordinary manner, strengthened them in their temptations, and had miraculously cured them of many diseases.

“Those whom I had instructed very cursorily,” says the Father, “who at that time could only stammer in their own language, have recited every day, without fail, the prayers that I had taught them. Those whom I had baptized in cases of sickness that I thought mortal,—not daring, on my first visit, to administer this Sacrament to those who were enjoying perfect health,—those persons, I say, proclaimed everywhere that Baptism had given them life. And, as they had learned that one must confess the sins into which he fell after receiving those waters of salvation, they did not wait until they were on their

fussent à genoux aux pieds du [94] Prestre; ils s'en accusoient tout haut, demandans qu'on les punist pour des fautes bien legeres.

L'un d'eux guary assez soudainement s'escrioit: Je marchois comme les bestes à quatre pieds, ie ne pouuois me tenir debout: & aussi tost que j'ay receu le Baptisme, j'ay couru & chassé comme les autres. Les peres & les meres me venoient presenter leurs petits enfans, que j'auois regenez dans les eaux du Baptisme, croyant qu'ils estoient prests d'expirer: Voila (me disoient-ils) celui que tu as resuscité par ces eaux importantes que tu as versées sur leurs testes.

Quelques-uns m'entretenoient iusques à minuit, me rendans un compte fort naïf de leur conscience: Ils me racontoient les attaques que les Longleurs leur auoient bien souuent liurées à l'occasion de leurs maladies, les voulans penser à leur mode, par des cris & par des hurlemens, & par des inuocations du Demon. Ils ont esté cause (disoient-ils) que nous auons redoublé nos prieres, demandans à Dieu la santé de nos malades, afin qu'on ne nous pressast point de les mettre entre les mains de ces Longleurs, & souuent [95] nous auons esté exaucez sur le champ. Apres auoir dit à celui qui a tout fait, ce que nous sçauions, & ce qui nous venoit au cœur, nous adjoustions ces paroles: Tu connois nos cœurs, nous voulons faire pour le bien des malades, ce que fait le Patriarche; nous te disons ce qu'il te dit, tu le sçais, nous ne le sçauons pas: regarde ce qu'il fait, & ce qu'il te dit, c'est cela que nous voulons faire, & que nous te voulons dire.

J'ay rencontré un vieillard, âgé à peu pres de cent ans, ie l'auois baptisé dès l'an 1647. le croyant

knees at the [94] Priest's feet; they accused themselves aloud, asking to be punished for very light offenses.

"One of them, who had been cured rather suddenly, cried out: 'I was walking like the four-footed animals and could not stand upright; but, as soon as I received Baptism, I ran and hunted like the rest.' Fathers and mothers came to present to me their little children, whom I had regenerated in the waters of Baptism when I thought them at the point of death. 'Behold' (they would say to me), 'the one whom thou hast restored to life by those important waters which thou didst pour upon its head.'

"Some talked with me until midnight, rendering me a very ingenuous account of their consciences. They told me about the attacks very often made upon them, on the occasion of their ailments, by the Jugglers who wished to attend them in their fashion,—with cries, and howls, and invocations of the Demon. 'They were the cause' (said they) 'of our redoubling our prayers, asking God for the cure of our diseases, in order that we might not be urged to put them into the hands of those Jugglers; and often [95] our petitions were immediately granted. After saying to him who made all things what we knew and what our hearts prompted, we used to add these words: "Thou knowest our hearts: we wish to do for the good of the sick what the Patriarch does; we say to thee what he says to thee; thou knowest it, we do not. Do thou give heed to what he does and what he says to thee; that is what we would do and would say to thee."'

"I met an old man, almost a hundred years of age, whom I had baptized in the year 1647, believing him

fur le bord de la fosse: ce bon Neophyte, que ie nommay Simeon, receut la vie du corps & de l'ame si soudainement, apres trois ou quatre ans de langueur dans vne extreme vieillesse, qu'il causa de l'estonnement à tous ses compatriotes. Vous sçavez bien, leur disoit il, que j'estois mort deuant mon baptisme, ie ne viuois plus, ie ne pouois me remuer, & deux iours apres on me vid en fanté. I'ay tué cet hyuer quatre Orignaux, que j'ay attrapez à la cou[r]se: I'ay assommé deux Ours, & mis à mort quantité de Chevreux. Je pense incessamment à celuy qui a tout fait: Je parle souuent à Iesus, [96] il me fortifie, il me console, ie suis demeuré seul de ma famille, j'ay veu mourir mon fils, & ma femme, & mes petits nepveux: j'en ay ressenty quelque douleur au commencement, mais si tost que ie me suis mis en prieres, mon cœur a esté consolé, sçachant que ceux qui croient, & qui sont baptizez, vont en Paradis. I'ay remercié celuy qui a tout fait, de ce qu'ils estoient morts Chrestiens, & ie sens vne ioye dans mon ame, de ce que ie les verray bien tost dans le Ciel. Quand mon cœur se veut égarer dans la tristesse, ie me mets à genoux deuant Dieu, & la priere me fait retrouver mon cœur.

Vn autre encore plus aagé, est si fort adonné à l'oraïson, qu'il passe vne partie de la nuit s'entretenant tout seul avec Dieu, pendant que les autres prennent leur repos. Estant couché dans sa cabane, j'entendis vne fois qu'il se leuoit à la dérobee, les tenebres le déroboient de mes yeux, mais non pas de mes oreilles. Il commença son oraïson par les prieres que ie luy auois enseignées, il en adjousta d'autres si à propos, & forma des actes si amoureux, qu'ils me rauirent: Il taschoit de parler bien bas, &

to be on the brink of the grave. This good Neophyte, whom I named Simeon, was so suddenly revived in body and soul, after three or four years of weakness, in an extreme old age, that he caused astonishment to all his fellow-countrymen. 'You well know,' he would say to them, 'that, before my baptism, I was dead—I had ceased to live, I could not move; and, two days later, I was seen to be in health. This winter, I have killed four Moose which I hunted down; I have slain two Bears, and put to death a good many small Deer. I think unceasingly of him who made all things; I often speak to Jesus, [96] and he strengthens and comforts me. I am the only one left of my family, having seen my son, my wife, and my little nephews die. At first, I felt some sorrow at these deaths; but, as soon as I had begun to pray, my heart was consoled, knowing as I did that they who believe and are baptized go to Paradise. I thanked him who made all things that they had died Christians, and I feel a joy in my heart at the prospect of seeing them soon in Heaven. When my heart is inclined to lose itself in sadness, I kneel before God, and prayer makes me find my heart again.'

"Another man, still older, is so greatly given to prayer that he spends a part of the night in private intercourse with God, while the others are taking their rest. On one occasion, when I had lain down to sleep in his cabin, I heard him get up stealthily, hidden by the darkness from my eyes, but not from my ears. He began his orisons with the prayers that I had taught him, adding others so appropriate, and rendering acts of devotion so tender, that they delighted me. He tried to speak in a very low tone,

moy de l'efcouter biẽ [97] fort attentiuemẽt. Ses gẽs me dirent que Dieu exauçoit fouuẽt les prieres qu'il faifoit pour des malades, ou pour d'autres fujets. I'ay remarquẽ cy deffus, qu'vne partie de ceux que le Pere auoit baptizez, dans l'extrẽmitẽ de leurs maladies, retournans apres en fantẽ, attribuoient cette faueur à leurs Baptefmes. Ceux qui font morts, ajoute le Pere, n'estoient pas moins auantagẽs, ils publioient par leurs actions ce que les autres prefchoient par leurs paroles. Premieremẽt ils rebutoient tous ceux, qui leur parloient de faire venir leurs medecins, ou leurs Jongleurs, pour les fouffler, & pour chanter fur eux, & pour battre leur tambours afin de chaffer le Demon, comme ils difent qui leur veut oster la vie.

En fecond lieu ils faisoient paroistre fur leur visage, & par leurs discours; qu'ils partoient de ce monde, pour aller au Ciel, avec tant de paix, & tant de ioie, que non feulemẽt ils empeschoient les pleurs, & les lamentations de leurs parens, mais ils leur donnoient en outre vn ardent desir de se faire instruire en la foy de Iesus-Christ, pour jouir d'vne si douce mort.

Quelques femmes bien agẽes, malades [98] depuis deux ans, ne pouuant empescher que les Jongleurs du pays inuitẽs par leurs parens, n'appliquassent fur elles leurs superstitions, demandoient à Dieu pendant leurs hurlemens, qu'il luy pleut de confondre leur Demon: en effet, elles se trouuoient plus mal apres ces tintamarres, & lors que ces beaux Medecins les abandonnoient, comme des personnes qui auoient desia vn pied dans le pays des morts, ces bonnes ames demandant la vie, & la fantẽ à nostre Seigneur, la recouroient soudainement à la veuẽ de ces Jongleurs.

and I to listen very [97] attentively to him. His people told me that God often answered the prayers that he offered in behalf of sick persons, or for other purposes." I have noted in this connection that a part of those whom the Father had baptized in the extremity of their illness, upon being restored afterward to health, ascribed that favor to their Baptism. "Those who died," adds the Father, "were not less benefited; and they published by their deeds what the others preached by their words. In the first place, they repulsed all those who spoke to them about summoning their physicians, or Jugglers, to blow upon them, and sing over them, and beat their drums, in order to drive away the Demon, as they say, who wishes to take away their lives.

"In the second place, they made it manifest in their faces and by their conversation that they were leaving this world, to go to Heaven, with so much peace and joy that not only did they check the tears and lamentations of their relatives, but they also gave them an ardent desire to be themselves instructed in the faith of Jesus Christ, in order to enjoy so easy a death.

"Some very aged women, who had been ill [98] for two years, not being able to prevent the Jugglers of the country, who had been summoned by the relatives, from practicing their superstitions over them, asked God, during their howling, to be pleased to confound their Demon. In fact, they found themselves worse after this uproar; and when these fine Physicians were giving them up, as persons having already one foot in the land of the dead, those good souls asked our Lord for life and health, which they

Quantité de ces bonnes gens (poursuit le Pere) m'ont affuré, que leurs enfans morts incontinent apres le Baptême, leur auoiët parus venir du Ciel, pour les encourager a embrasser les verités Chreftiennes. Cette veuë, difoient-ils, nous combloit d'une ioye que nous ne pouuons exprimer, & quelques-vns de nous estans malades guerifoient quasi tout à coup. Ces pauvres Neophytes, me menoiënt sur le tombeau de ces petits Anges, pour me faire remercier Dieu de les auoir pris pour ses enfans. La les meres me dechargeoient leur cœur, me racomptans les recours qu'elles auoient eu a Dieu, & le fecours [99] qu'il leur auoit donné. Nous estions inconfolable deuant qu'on nous eut parlé du Paradis, nous pleurions tous les matins & tous les foirs la mort de nos moindres parens, mon cœur est maintenant tout changé, il ne ressent plus ces angoisses, mesme à la mort de mon mary, & de mes enfans; mes yeux iettent bien quelques larmes, au commencement, mais aussi tost que ie viens à penser que leurs ames font au Ciel avec Dieu, ou quelles y entreront bien tost, ie sens une ioie dans mon ame, & toute ma pensée n'est que de le prier, qu'il les mette bien tost avec luy. Que si le Demon veut par fois me ietter dans la tristesse, comme si i'auois perdu ceux que i'aymois, l'ay aussi tost recours à celui qui a tout fait, lequel me fait connoistre que celui qui est avec luy, n'est pas perdu.

Le second indice de l'amour qu'ont ces peuples pour Iesus-Christ, & pour sa doctrine, est fondée sur leur ferueur, & sur quelques actions tres-remarquables, pour des hommes conceus au milieu de la Barbarie, l'ardeur estoit si grande pour retenir les prieres, où les verités que ie leur enseignois, dit le

suddenly recovered before the eyes of these Jugglers.

“Many of these good people” (continues the Father) “have assured me that their children, dying immediately after Baptism, had appeared to come down to them from Heaven, to encourage them to embrace the truths of Christianity. ‘The sight of them,’ they would say, ‘overwhelmed us with a joy that we cannot express; and some of us who were ill were almost immediately cured.’ Those poor Neophytes conducted me to the grave of these little Angels, for the purpose of having me thank God for having received them as his children. There the mothers unburdened their hearts to me, telling me how they had had recourse to God and [99] he had given them aid. ‘We were inconsolable, before we were told about Paradise; we used to mourn the death of even the most distant of our relatives, every morning and evening. My heart is now wholly changed, and no longer feels that anguish, even at the deaths of my husband and my children. My eyes, indeed, shed some tears at first; but as soon as I come to think that their souls are in Heaven with God, or that they will soon be there, I feel a joy in my soul, and all my thought is to pray that he will soon take them to himself. But if, at times, the Demon wishes to make me sad, as if I had lost those that I loved, I immediately have recourse to him who made all things, and he makes me know that one who is with him is not lost.’”

The second proof of the love felt by these peoples for Jesus Christ and his doctrine is based on their fervor, and on some acts that are very remarkable for people conceived in the midst of Barbarism. “Their

Pere, qu'ils passoient les [100] nuits à repeter leurs leçons: les vieillards se rendoient escolier[s] de leurs petits enfans: les Catechumenes tres-peu verbez en nostre science, estoient contrains de faire les Docteurs. Quelques-vns escriuoient leurs leçons à leur mode, ils se seruoient d'un petit charbon pour vne plume, & d'une escorce au lieu de papier. Leurs caracteres estoient nouveaux, & si particuliers, qu[e] l'un ne pouuoit connoistre, ny entendre l'escriture de l'autre: c'est à dire, qu'ils se seruoient de certaines marques selon leurs idées, comme d'une memoire locale, pour se souuenir des points, & des articles, & des maximes qu'ils auoient retenus. Ils emportoient ce papier avec eux pour estudier leur leçon dans le repos de la nuit. La ialousie & l'emulation se mettoit parmy eux, les petits combattoient avec les plus grands, à qui auroit plustost appris les prieres; & ceux à qui ie ne pouuois pas donner tout le temps qu'ils me demandoient, m'en faisoient des reproches.

Mais il me semble que les Anges prenoient sur tout un grand plaisir de voir l'ardeur & le courage des plus petits enfans: Ils couroient tous apres moy pour [101] estre instruits: Ils venoient aux prieres tous les foirs & tous les matins: Ils ioignoient leurs petites mains, ils se mettoient à genoux, ils prononçoient apres moy fort posément ce que ie leur faisois dire, ils continuoient tous les iours cet exercice, de leur propre mouuement, ou plustost par le mouuement de celuy qui commanda aux Apostres de les laisser approcher de sa personne, puis que le royaume des Cieux leur appartient.

La troisieme marque consiste en l'amour qu'ils ont pour leur Pere & pour leur Patriarches. Les Sauvages, qui pour l'ordinaire sont assez froids dans leurs

ardor was so great," says the Father, "for retaining the prayers or the truths that I taught them, that they spent the [100] nights in repeating their lessons. The old men became pupils to their little children. The Catechumens, very little versed in our science, were forced to play the Doctor. Some would write their lessons after a fashion of their own, using a bit of charcoal for a pen, and a piece of bark instead of paper. Their characters were new, and so peculiar that one could not recognize or understand the writing of another,—that is to say, they used certain signs corresponding to their ideas; as it were, a local reminder, for recalling points and articles and maxims which they had retained. They carried away these papers with them, to study their lessons in the quiet of the night. Jealousy and emulation sprang up among them: the little ones vied with the older ones who should soonest learn his prayers; and those to whom I could not give all the time they asked me for, reproached me therefor.

"But it seems to me the Angels took especially great pleasure in seeing the ardor and spirit of the smallest children: they all ran after me to [101] be instructed; they came to prayers every morning and evening; they clasped their little hands, knelt down, and pronounced after me very sedately what I made them say; and they continued this exercise every day, of their own impulse, or, rather, by the impulse of him who bade the Apostles to let them come unto him, since theirs is the kingdom of Heaven."

The third proof is found in the love they feel for their Father and Patriarch. The Savages, who are commonly rather cold in their passions, have very often made him feel the warmth of their affection.

passions, luy ont fait bien souuent ressentir la chaleur de leur affection. Ils l'honoroient dans leurs festins, du mets qu'ils donnent ordinairement à leurs Capitaines. S'il faisoit voyage avec eux, on choisissoit le meilleur Canot, on luy presentoit la place la plus commode; & s'il vouloit manier l'aviron, ils luy arrachioient des mains, disans que son occupation estoit de prier Dieu. Prie pour nous, & nous ramenerons pour toy, disoient-ils. Aux endroits où il falloit porter leur petit Nauires, & tout leur bagage, pour passer [102] d'un fleuve à un autre, ou pour éviter des precipices, & des cheutes d'eau, ils portoient son liçt, son manteau, & bien souuent sa maison, & tout cela consistoit en une couverture, ou une castelonne, qui luy seruoit à tous ces usages. Or comme il se chargeoit toujours de sa Chappelle, quelques-uns le prioient de la mettre sur les sacs, ou sur les paquets qu'ils portoient sur leurs espauls, disans que ce petit fardeau de Iesus soulageoit la pesanteur de leur charge. Quelques-uns, pour l'obliger à demeurer toujours parmy eux, s'offrirent de luy défricher de la terre, & de luy donner des champs pour les faire cultiver.

Si quelqu'un moins affectionné à nostre créance, laissoit eschaper quelque parole contre le Patriarche, il estoit aussi tost releué. Voicy un exemple bien remarquable pour des Sauvages. Le Pere estant en une bourgade assez voisine des habitations Angloises, le valet d'un Anglois se trouua certain iour dans une cabane, où il instruifoit ses bons Catechumenes. Cet homme, ou par malice, ou pource qu'il n'entendoit pas bien la langue du pays, rapporta par apres à son maistre, que le [103] Pere auoit parlé contre les Anglois; ce qui n'estoit pas veritable. Ces braues

They honored him at their feasts with the viands that they ordinarily give to their Captains. If he went on a journey with them, the best Canoe was chosen, and he was given the most comfortable seat; and if he wished to ply the paddle, they snatched it out of his hands, saying that his occupation was to pray to God. "Pray for us and we will paddle for thee," they would say. In the places where it was necessary to carry their little Boat and all their baggage, in order to pass [102] from one river to another, or to avoid steep descents and waterfalls, they would carry his bed, his cloak, and very often his house,—all that consisting of a covering, or blanket, which served him for all these uses. Now, as he always loaded himself with his Chapel, some begged him to put it on the sacks or packets which they bore on their shoulders, saying that this little burden for Jesus lightened the weight of their load. Some, in order to oblige him to remain always among them, offered to clear some land for him, and to give him some fields to have tilled.

If any one not well-disposed toward our faith let fall some word against the Patriarch, he was immediately checked. Here is an example, which is very remarkable for Savages. When the Father was in a village quite near the English settlements, an Englishman's servant chanced to be present one day in a cabin where the Father was instructing his good Catechumens. This man—either from malice, or because he did not understand the language of the country very well—reported to his master afterward that the [103] Father had spoken against the English, which was not true. These worthy Neophytes, learning that this master was offended at that,

Neophytes apprenans que ce maistre f'en formalisoit, se transporterent en sa maison, & luy tinrent ce langage: Nous entendons mieux nostre langue que ton feruiteur: nous estions proches du Patriarche quand il parloit, nous l'escoutions attentiuement, toutes ses paroles sont venuës droit dans nos oreilles, fois asseuré qu'il n'a iamais dit aucun mal de vous autres. Il nous enseigne que celuy qui a tout fait, haït, & condamne, & punit le menfonge, puisque nous voulons receuoir sa loy, & luy rendre obeyffance, prends ces pensées dans ton cœur. Ces gens-là ne mentent point. Au reste, il est bon que vous sçachiez que le Pere est maintenant de nostre nation, que nous l'auons adopté pour nostre compatriote, que nous le considerons, & nous l'aimons comme le plus sage de nos Capitaines, & nous le respectons comme l'Ambassadeur de Iesus, auquel nous nous voulons donner entierement, & par consequent quiconque l'attaque, attaque tous les Abnaquiois. Le Capitaine qui prononça cette petite harangue, le fit d'un si bon accent, que les [104] principaux Anglois, qui demeurent sur la riuere de Kenebek, l'ayant ouye, firent venir le Pere, & le prierent par la bouche d'un Anglois venu depuis peu de Boston, lequel parloit fort bon François, d'oublier tout ce qui s'estoit passé, l'asseurans qu'ils n'auoient plus aucune creance aux faux rapports d'un valet estourdy: Qu'ils voyoient bien que tous les Sauvages l'aimoient, qu'ils auoient de grands respects pour luy, qu'eux-mesmes l'honoroient comme un Ministre du saint Euangile: que la confiance que ces peuples auoient en luy, nourriroit la bonne intelligence entre les François, les Anglois, & les Sauvages de ces contrées; & là dessus parurent les

repaired to his house and addressed him as follows: " We understand our language better than thy servant does. We were near the Patriarch when he was speaking; we listened attentively, and all his words came directly into our ears. Be assured, he has never said any ill of you people. He teaches us that he who made all things hates and condemns and punishes lying; and as we wish to receive his law, and render him obedience, take these thoughts to thy heart,—those people yonder do not lie. And, furthermore, it is well for you to know that the Father is now one of our nation; that we have adopted him for our fellow-countryman; that we pay him consideration and love, as the wisest of our Captains, and respect him as the Ambassador of Jesus, to whom we wish to give ourselves entirely; and, consequently, whoever attacks him, attacks all the Abnaquiois." The Captain who delivered this little harangue uttered it so emphatically that the [104] principal Englishmen dwelling on the river Kenebek, having heard him, had the Father come to them, and begged him—through the mouth of an Englishman recently arrived from Boston, who spoke very good French—to forget all that had passed, assuring him that they gave no further credence to the false reports of a thoughtless servant. They added that they clearly saw that all the Savages loved him, and had great respect for him; that they themselves honored him as a Minister of the holy Gospel; and that the confidence which these people had in him would foster a good understanding between the French, the English, and the Savages of those regions. And thereupon appeared bottles and cups, and the Father's health was generously drunk; and, as they were from different

bouteilles & les tasses, & l'on beut largement à la fanté du Pere. Et comme ils estoient de diuers endroits, chacun prioit le Pere de luy donner vne visite en son habitation, l'asseurant qu'il y feroit toujours receu avec honneur. En effect, autant de fois que le Pere nauigeant sur le fleuve de Kenebec, où ils habitent, les alloit saluer, ils le receuoient avec des témoignages d'une sensible bienveillance; & depuis ce temps-là, ils ont toujours parlé de luy fort auantageusement aux Sauvages.

[105] Ceux de *Naranchouak*, qui font de tout temps les plus considerables de cette contrée, & qui ont de grandes alliances avec plusieurs nations de la nouvelle Angleterre, voulans donner des preuues de l'amour qu'ils portoient à leur Patriarche, & à sa doctrine, l'ont publiquement dans vne grande assemblée, naturalisé, & incorporé à leur Nation. Le Capitaine *Oumamanradok* qui harangua, dit hautement, que le Patriarche estoit non seulement leur maistre en la foy, mais qu'il estoit encore la meilleure teste du pays pour parler, & pour determiner de leurs affaires; & qu'encore qu'il y eust long-temps qu'il regardast le Soleil, qu'il n'estoit neantmoins qu'un enfant: que le Patriarche estoit un vieillard tout remply de sagesse: cet homme est le meilleur cerueau de tous les Abnaquiois, & le plus affectionné à nostre creance.

La quatriefme preuue des affections qu'ont ces peuples pour Iesus-Christ, est tirée de leurs actions. *Capit Iesus facere, & docere*: Iesus commença d'operer nostre salut par ses actions, & puis par ses documens. Il ne veut pas que tous ceux qui luy appartiennent, soient des Docteurs, [106] mais il les veut tous

places, each one begged the Father to pay him a visit at his settlement, assuring him that he would always be received there with honor. Indeed, whenever the Father, in his journeys on the Kenebec river, where they dwell, went to greet them, they received him with marks of cordial good-will; and, since that time, they have always spoken of him to the Savages in very complimentary terms.

[105] The people of *Naranchouak*,—who are at all times the most influential of this region, and have strong alliances with several nations of new England,—wishing to give proofs of the love that they bore to their Patriarch and his doctrine, publicly naturalized him in a great assembly and received him into their Nation. Captain *Oumamanradok*, who made the harangue, declared openly that the Patriarch was not only their master in the faith, but that he was also the best head in the country for speaking, and for giving decisions in their affairs; and that, although he himself had been looking at the Sun for a long time, he was nevertheless only a child, while the Patriarch was an old man, full of wisdom. This man has the best intellect of all the Abnaquiois, and is the most devoted to our faith.

The fourth proof of these peoples' love for Jesus Christ is drawn from their actions. *Cæpit Jesus facere et docere*. Jesus began to accomplish our salvation by his deeds, and then by his teachings. He does not desire that all those who belong to him should be Doctors, [106] but he wishes them all to be obedient. "Thou dost bid us combat and resist the Demons that attack us" (they said to the Father). "They are many in number, but their strength is

obeyffans. Tu nous commandes (difoient-ils au Pere) de combattre, & de refifter aux Demons qui nous attaquent: Ils font en grand nombre, mais leurs forces diminuent de iour en iour, & noſtre courage augmente.

Le Demon qui excite, & qui fomenté les querelles & les inimitiez, eſt banny d'entre nous: Tu n'entends point de bruit dans nos cabanes: Les femmes ne s'ecrient point les vnes les autres. La mort foudaine de l'un de nos Capitaines, en fuite d'un different qu'il auoit eu avec le Capitaine de ceux qui habitent ſur l'embouchure de noſtre Riuere, nous a fait croire que cet homme tenu pour un grand Sorcier, l'auoit tué ſecretement par ſes fortileges: Noſtre cœur réueilloit déjà les anciennes inimitiez que nous auons eues avec ces peuples, & nous eſtions ſur le point de nous couper la gorge, & de nous faire la guerre: mais tes paroles ont banny ce Demon. Tu es noſtre Pere, fois auſſi noſtre Arbitre: Parle dans nos conſeils, tu feras eſcouté; nous remettrons toujours nos differens entre tes mains; nous voyons bien que tu nous aimes, ſouffrant, & ieufnant, & priant iour & nuit pour nous autres.

[107] Pour le Demon de l'yurongnerie que tu auois chaffé de nos cabanes en ton premier voyage, les Anglois l'ont ramené ſi toſt que tu nous a quittez, mais il faut maintenant l'exterminer pour un iamais: car il nous ofte la vie, il nous cauſe des meurtres, il nous fait perdre l'eſprit, nous rendans ſemblables à des enragez. Allons preſentement trouuer le Commis des Anglois, & luy tenons ce diſcours: Toy Commis de Pleimot & de Boſton, peins nos paroles ſur le papier, & les enuoye à ceux de qui tu dépends,

diminishing from day to day, and our courage is increasing.

“The Demon that excites and fomenters quarrels and enmities is banished from among us: thou hearest no noise in our cabins, and the women do not scold one another. The sudden death of one of our Captains, following upon a quarrel that he had had with the Captain of the people living at the mouth of our River, made us believe that that man, who is regarded as a great Sorcerer, had killed him secretly by means of his sorcery. Our hearts were already arousing the old-time hatred that we had had for those peoples, and we were on the point of cutting one another's throats and making war on one another; but thy words banished that Demon. Thou art our Father; be also our Umpire. Speak in our councils; thou shalt be heard. We will always refer our disputes to thee. We see well that thou lovest us, suffering and fasting and praying for us as thou dost, day and night.

[107] “As for the Demon of drunkenness that thou hadst driven out of our cabins, on thy first journey, the English brought it back as soon as thou didst leave us; but it must now be exterminated forever, for it deprives us of our lives, causes murders among us, and makes us lose our wits, rendering us like madmen. Let us go this moment and find the Deputy of the English,¹ and speak to him as follows: ‘Thou Deputy of Pleimot and Boston, paint our words on paper, and send them to those on whom thou art dependent; and say to them that all the allied Savages dwelling on the river Kenebek hate fire-water,’” or brandy, “‘as much as they hate the Hiroquois; and that if they have any more of it

& leur dis que tous les Sauvages alliez, qui demeurent sur le fleuve de Kenebek, haïssent autant la boisson de feu, ou l'eau de vie, cōme ils haïssent les Hiroquois; & que s'ils en font encore apporter pour en vendre aux Sauvages, qu'ils croiront que les Anglois les veulent exterminer. Peins ces paroles, & nostre Patriarche nous servira d'Ambassadeur, il les portera à vos Gouverneurs, accompagné des principaux d'entre nous: & apres cette defense, si quelqu'un s'enyure en cachette, on le fera punir selon que nostre Pere en aura ordonné.

Le Demon qui nous donne de la crainte de nos Sorciers, & de la creance pour [108] nos Pythoneses, qui devinent les choses futures, & qui connoissent (à ce qu'elles disent) les choses absentes, ce Demon a perdu son credit. Tes prieres, & celles des petits enfans, & le recours que nous auons à Dieu, nous font voir la vanité, & l'impuissance de ces Jongleurs, & de leurs fortileges. Combien de fois auons-nous vu des personnes aux abois, que nous croyons enforcélées, reuenir en santé, ayant prié celui qui est le maître de tous les Demons? Il est vray que tous les Sorciers auoient maintenant leur foiblesse, & le pouuoir de Iesus. Quelques-uns mesme inuitent le Pere en leurs cabanes, & le traitent fort honorablement. Le plus remarquable, & le plus redouté d'entr'eux, nommé *Aranbinau*, qui autrefois auoit leué la hache sur le Pere pour l'affommer, l'ayant trouué catechisant un sien neveu, s'est rendu si docile aux paroles du Pere, qu'il fait maintenant profession de l'auoir pour amy intime.

Quant au Demon (disoient-ils) qui nous a fait aimer la polygamie, il est fort décrié parmy nous, puisqu'il

brought hither to sell to the Savages, the latter will believe that the English wish to exterminate them. Paint these words; and our Patriarch will act as our Ambassador, and will carry them to your Governors, accompanied by our chief men; and, after that prohibition, if any one gets drunk in secret, he shall be punished according as our Father shall decree.'

"The Demon who gives us fear of our Sorcerers and faith in [108] our Pythonesses," who divine future events and have knowledge (according to their own account) of things absent, "this Demon has lost his credit. Thy prayers, and those of the little children, and the recourse that we have to God, make us see the vanity and powerlessness of those Jugglers and of their sorcery. How many times have we seen persons in the last extremity, whom we thought bewitched, restored to health upon praying to him who is the master of all the Demons!" It is true that all the Sorcerers now acknowledge their weakness, and the power of Jesus,—some even inviting the Father into their cabins, and treating him with high honor. The most noted and the most feared of their number, named *Aranbinau*,—who had, in time past, raised his hatchet against the Father to kill him, upon finding him catechizing a nephew of his,—has shown himself so docile to the Father's words that he now makes profession of having him as an intimate friend.

"As to the Demon that makes us love polygamy" (they said), "he is in great discredit among us, inasmuch as we see clearly the inconveniences and disorders which arise from a plurality of wives. [109] He who claims to have been elected Captain in this village will never be Captain if he does not give up

nous voyons bien les inconueniens & les defordres qui prouiennent de la pluralité des femmes. [109] Celuy qui dans cette bourgade pretend d'estre élu Capitaine, ne le fera iamais, s'il ne quite l'une de ses deux femmes; & quand quelqu'un ne voudroit pas auoir de l'esprit, cela n'empescheroit pas que les autres ne se fissent Chrestiens. Ils adjoûterent en suite de ces discours apostrofans le Pere.

Prends donc courage, demeure avec nous, puisque nous sommes prests de t'obeyr. Tu es nostre compatriote; nous sommes tous de mesme nation. Tu es nostre maistre; nous sommes tes disciples. Tu es nostre pere; nous sommes tes enfans, ne nous abandonne pas à la furie des Demons. Ne croy pas qu'ils soient allez bien loing: ils nous viendront esgorger si tost que tu feras party: deliure-toy, & nous aussi, de la peine de tant de voyages, & si longs, & si fascheux, qu'on ne sçauroit rien porter avec foy, ce qui nous met souuent en danger de mourir de faim. Nous sommes tefmoins que les principaux Anglois de ces contrées te respectent. Les Patriarches de l'Acadie nous ont dit qu'ils t'auoient escrit, que tu pouuois reuenir en nostre pays quand tu voudrois. Que deuiendront ceux qui mourront sans baptesme, [110] ou sans confession en ton absence? Je vous aduoüe, dit le Pere, qu'ils m'attendrissent, & si ie n'eusse creu que Dieu me r'appelloit à Kebec par la voix de mon Superieur qui me mandoit, les trauaux les plus horribles ne m'auroient iamais arraché du pays de ceux que j'aime plus que moy-mesme.

La derniere marque de la bonté de ces peuples pour la foy, est leur esprit desinteressé. Les Sauvages Hurons & les Algonquins peuuent attendre quelque

one of his two wives; and even if some one person should fail to have sense, that would not prevent the rest from becoming Christians." Then they added the following address to the Father:

"Take heart, then, and stay with us, since we are ready to obey thee. Thou art our fellow-countryman; we are of the same nation. Thou art our master; we are thy disciples. Thou art our father, and we thy children; do not abandon us to the fury of the Demons. Think not that they have gone far away; they will come and cut our throats as soon as thou leavest us. Deliver thyself, and us too, from the trouble of so many journeys, which are so long and so difficult that one can carry nothing with him—which often exposes us to the danger of dying from hunger. We are witnesses that the principal Englishmen of these regions respect thee. The Patriarchs of Acadia have told us that they had written thee that thou couldst return to our country whenever thou shouldst choose.² What will become of those that shall die without baptism [110] or without confession, in thine absence?" "I confess to you," says the Father, "they touched me; and if I had not believed that God was recalling me to Kebec by the voice of my Superior who was summoning me, the most frightful labors would never have torn me from the country of those whom I love more than myself."

The last proof of these peoples' favorable attitude toward the faith is their disinterested spirit. The Huron and Algonquin Savages can expect some help from our Fathers and, through their mediation, from the French; but the Abnauquois can claim from us only their instruction, pure and simple. They see in

secours de nos Peres, & par leur entremise, des François: mais les Abnaquois ne peuvent pretendre de nous que leur instruction toute pure; ils voyent parmy eux vn Pere & son compagnon dans la necessité de toutes choses, n'ayant pour maison que leurs cabanes d'escorce, pour leur liét que la terre, pour leur nourriture que leurs salmigondis. Ils n'attendent aucune grace des Anglois, par la faueur des Iesuites: Ils n'ont point la pensée de venir en marchandise à Kebec, leur ayant esté déclaré dès l'an 1646. qu'un ou deux Canots suffisoient, pour venir tous les ans renouveler les alliances qu'ils ont avec les nouveaux Chrestiens de saint Ioseph. Si bien [111] qu'ils n'ont point d'esperance, ny pour le particulier, ny pour le public, de tirer aucune vtilité temporelle de la venue de nos Peres en leur pays. C'est Dieu seul qui leur a donné la grace, & la force de perseverer si long-temps dans des actions de pieté, sans maistre, sans docteur, & sans guide. C'est luy seul qui leur fait recevoir avec ardeur les enseignemens qu'on leur donne: C'est luy seul qui leur imprime au fond du cœur l'estime & l'affection qu'ils ont pour leur Pere; c'est luy seul qui les fait resister si fortement, & si constamment aux Demons dont ie viens de parler, qui en verité paroissoient insurmontables, en vn pays où il n'y a point de loix portées contre les Sorciers, ny contre l'yurongnerie, ny contre la polygamie, ny contre les inimitiez & les haines mortelles: Dieu est leur seule & vnique loy. Or iugez maintenant, dit le Pere, si on peut abandonner ces peuples, à moins que d'abandonner Iesus-Christ, qui prie fortement en leurs personnes, qu'on le tire du danger d'un precipice eternel. Peut-on

their midst a Father and his companion in need of all things, having for house only their bark cabins, for bed only the earth, for food only their own salmagundis. They look for no favor from the English through the Jesuits' mediation. They have no thought of coming to Kebec to trade, for they were notified in the year 1646 that one or two Canoes were enough for coming every year to renew the alliances which they have with the new Christians of saint Joseph. Consequently [111] they have no hope, either as individuals or as a people, of reaping any temporal advantage from the coming of our Fathers to their country. It is God alone who has given them the grace and strength to persevere so long in acts of piety, without master, without teacher, and without guide. It is he alone who makes them receive with ardor the teachings that are given them. It is he alone who plants deep in their hearts the esteem and affection which they have for their Father. It is he alone who makes them offer such strong and unceasing resistance to the Demons of whom I have just spoken, and who in truth appeared unconquerable in a country where there are no laws directed against Sorcerers, or against drunkenness, or against polygamy, or against enmities and mortal hatreds. God is their sole and only law. "Now judge," says the Father, "whether one can forsake these peoples without forsaking Jesus Christ, who earnestly prays, in their persons, to be rescued from the danger of eternal destruction. Can one leave as prey to the Demons so many persons, and so many nations, each composed of ten or twelve thousand souls, without [112] having compassion on them? To leave them is to leave Jesus Christ; to

laiffer en proye aux Demons tant de perfonnes, & tant de nations, compofées chacune de dix ou douze mille ames, fans en [112] auoir compaffion? Les quitter, c'eft quitter Iefus-Christ: les abandonner, c'eft abandonner celuy qui nous dit auffi bien qu'à fon Pere: *Vt quid dereliquisti me?* Pourquoy m'abandonnez-vous? Ces conqueftes font dignes des Princes & des Roys Chreftiens: mais bien peu fe rendent dignes de recueillir ces palmes. On fe bat bien fouuent pour des rofeaux, & on mefprife les lauriers & les palmes.

forsake them is to forsake him who says to us, as well as to his Father: *Ut quid dereliquisti me?* 'Why hast thou forsaken me?'' These conquests are worthy of Christian Princes and Kings, but very few render themselves worthy of receiving such palms. People fight very often for reeds, and despise laurels and palms.

CHAPITRE IX.

DE LA GUERRE DES HIROQUIOIS.

VNE lettre enuoyée des Trois Riuieres, nous fournira vn Iournal, de ce qu'ont fait cette année les Hiroquois en ce nouveau monde. Les voyes de Dieu ne font pas moins iustes, pour estre cachées. Il abbaiffe souuent ceux qu'il veut exalter. Il enuoie vn homme chercher des Aneffes pour luy faire trouuer vn Royaume. Il exerce vn berger à tourner vne fronde, pour luy donner la victoire d'un Geant, les Hiroquois ont quasi iusques à present, fait plus de bien en la Nouuelle [113] France, qu'ils n'y ont fait de mal. Ils ont deliurés quantité d'ames des feux de l'Enfer, bruslans leurs corps d'un feu elementaire. Car il est vray qu'ils ont conuertis quantité de personnes, & qu'ils font les instrumens, dont Dieu s'est seruy pour tirer le doux de l'amer, la vie de la mort, la gloire de l'ignominie, vne eternité de plaisir d'un moment de souffrances, rudes à la verité; mais recompensées au centuple. Les Hurons estans dans l'abondance, & les Algonquins dans la prosperité, se rioient de l'Euangile. Ils vouloient massacrer ceux qui la publioient en leur païs; ils les accusoient d'estre des forciers, qui leur faisoient perdre secretement la vie, qui gastoient leurs bleds, qui causoient les feichereffes, & les intemperies de l'air, ils les tenoient pour des traitres qui auoient communication avec leurs ennemis pour vendre leur païs. Chose

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE WAR WITH THE HIROQUOIS.

A LETTER sent from Three Rivers will furnish us a Journal of what the Hiroquois have done during the past year in this new world. God's ways are none the less just for being hidden. He often humbles those whom he intends to exalt. He sends a man in search of She-asses, in order to make him find a Kingdom. He trains a shepherd in the use of a sling, to give him the victory over a Giant. Up to the present time, the Hiroquois have done almost more good than harm in New [113] France. They have delivered many souls from the fires of Hell, while burning their bodies in an elemental fire. For it is true that they have converted many persons, and that they are the instruments which God has used for deriving the sweet from the bitter, life from death, glory from ignominy, an eternity of pleasure from a moment of suffering,—severe indeed, but recompensed a hundredfold. When the Hurons were in affluence, and the Algonquins in prosperity, they mocked at the Gospel, and tried to murder those who proclaimed it in their country,—accusing them of being sorcerers, who made them lose their lives by secret means, spoiled their grain, and caused drouths and inclement weather; and regarding them as traitors, who held communication with their enemies for the purpose of selling their country. A strange thing, but truly worthy of note, and showing

etrange, mais à la verité tres-remarquable, & qui fait voir que Dieu sçait bien par où il faut prendre les hommes, pour les attirer à sa connoissance, & à son amour! Si tost que les Hiroquois (vaincus pour l'ordinaire par nos Sauvages, deuant qu'on leur portaist les bonnes nouuelles de l'Euangile) [114] les eurent iettés dans le precipice où ils sont encor, ces pauvres gens se sont venus rendre entre nos bras, demandans l'abry & le couuert, à ceux qu'ils tenoient pour des traitres: recherchant l'amitié de ceux qu'ils auoient voulu massacrer, comme des Sorciers: pressans qu'on leur accordast, la vie de l'ame, puis qu'ils perdoient celle du corps: souhaitans l'entrée du Ciel, puis qu'on les chassoit de leurs terres. Et il me semble que ie peux dire, avec vne tres-grande apparence de la verité, que les Algonquins, & les Hurons, & quantité d'autres Nations, que nous auons instruites, estoient perduës, si elles n'eussent esté perduës; & que la plus part de ceux qui sont venus chercher le baptesme dans l'affliction, ne l'auroient iamais trouué dans la prosperité, & que ceux qui ont rencôtré le Paradis dãs l'Enfer de leurs tourmens, auroient trouué le veritable Enfer, dans leur Paradis terrestre. Difons donc que les Hiroquois ont rendu des hommes riches pensans les rendre pauvres: qu'ils ont fait des saints, pensans faire des miserables: en vn mot, qu'on leur doit (sans toutefois qu'on leur en ait aucune obligation) la conuersion, & la sanctification [115] de plusieurs ames. Mais il faut que ie confesse, que s'ils ont fait du bien par cy-deuant, qu'ils paroissent maintenant à nos yeux comme des monstres, qui sont prests de nous engloutir. Qu'on perde les biens, qu'on perde la vie, qu'on soit tué, qu'on soit massacré,

that God knows well how men must be taken, in order to draw them to a knowledge of himself and a love for him! As soon as the Hiroquois (who, before the good news of the Gospel was carried to them, were, as a general rule, subdued by our Savages) [114] had cast them into the abyss where they still are, these poor people came to throw themselves into our arms,—asking shelter and protection from those whom they had regarded as traitors; seeking the friendship of those whom they had tried to murder as Sorcerers; urging that the life of the soul might be granted them, since they were losing that of the body; and desiring entrance into Heaven, since they were being driven out from their own lands. And, it seems to me, I can say, with a very great appearance of truth, that the Algonquins, and the Hurons, and numerous other Nations whom we have instructed, would have been lost if they had not been ruined; that the greater part of those who came in quest of baptism in affliction, would never have found it in prosperity; and that those who have found Paradise in the Hell of their torments, would have found the true Hell in their earthly Paradise. Let us say, then, that the Hiroquois have rendered men rich, thinking to make them poor; that they have made saints, thinking to make victims of wretchedness; in a word, that we owe to them (without, however, being under any obligation to them) the conversion and sanctification [115] of many souls. But I must confess that if they have done good, as indicated above, they appear now in our eyes like monsters ready to devour us. Let people lose their property, let them lose their lives, let them be killed, massacred, burnt, roasted, broiled, and eaten alive,—

qu'on soit brûlé, rôsty, grillé & mangé tout vif, patience: il n'importe, pourueu que l'Euangile ait son cours, & que Dieu soit connu, & les ames sauuées: on gagne plus en ce trafic qu'on n'y perd. Mais que la porte du salut soit fermée aux nations plus peuplées qui habitent les riués de la mer douce des Hurons? Que les nouuelles Eglises de Iesus-Christ, fondées & establies par la pieté de la France, soient ruinées, & tant de nouveaux Chrestiens liurez à la gueule de ces Lions? Que les ouuriers Euangeliques, & les Pasteurs de ce bercail soient bannis & chaffez d'aupres de leur troupeaux: C'est ce qu'on appelle vn grand malheur, auquel neantmoins les hautes puisssances peuuēt aisément remedier, nonobstant les defordres de la France, cauzez par des Hiroquois aussi barbares que ceux de l'Amerique: mais c'est trop s'écarter de mon but, entrons en discours.

[116] Le sixiesme de Mars de l'année derniere 1652. les Hiroquois, qui ont rodé tout le Printemps & tout l'Esté à l'entour des habitations Françoises, désirerent vne Escoüade de Hurons qui les alloient chercher bien loing, & qui les trouuerent bien pres sans y penser. Ils estoient en embuscade à la riuere de la Magdelaine, six lieuës ou enuiron au dessus des trois Riuieres: Cette Escoüade commandée par vn nommé *Toratati*, tomba entre leurs mains, & fut entierement défaite.

Le 10. de May, le Pere Iacques Buteux (comme il a esté remarqué au premier Chap. de cette Relation) fut mis à mort avec vn François qui l'accompagnoit, nommé Fontarabie.

Le 13. du mesme mois, vne troupe d'Algonquins s'en allans au pays des Attikamegues, & passans par

Ego infra scriptis Mississimum Camadenstium Sacer-
doti Joani Siquier, eidem Joani me Signa Scripta, de
voto Joanni de Beche, pœchola, vita, de qua cum
pœchola morte, scripta, anno 1699; un tunc
tempore cum Joanne Siquier, Haverensium. Sic
annua et indubio affirmam, nihil in his a me
scriptum, nisi de quo cum Joanne Siquier, tum
pœchola, tum de Beche, tum ex ipsius Joanni
Joanni de Beche, autopœchola; tum maxime ex
Joanne Siquier, qui ex Joanne Siquier, tum
ab anno 1697. cum in Mississimum Haverensium
ab anno 1697. cum tunc tempore Joanni Joanni de
Beche, cum Joanne Siquier, tum de Beche, tum
sic inquam annua, in his affirmam. Datum Lubei
de Beche, anno 1699, anni 1792.
Paulus Ragueneau.

FACSIMILE OF HANDWRITING OF PAUL RAGUENEAU, S.J.

[Selected from the MS. of his deposition relative to the martyrdom of Jogues, written in 1692, and preserved in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal.]

patience! that matters not, so long as the Gospel takes its course, and God is known, and souls saved. The gain is greater than the loss in this traffic. But that the door of salvation should be closed to the more populous nations dwelling on the shores of the fresh-water sea of the Hurons; that the new Churches of Jesus Christ, founded and established by the piety of France, should be ruined, and so many new Christians delivered to the jaws of these Lions; that the Gospel laborers and the Pastors of this fold should be banished and driven away from their flocks,—that is what may be called a great misfortune, which, however, the high mightinesses³ can easily remedy, notwithstanding the disorders of France, caused by Hiroquois as barbarous as those of America. But that is straying too far from my goal; let us begin our narrative.

[116] On the sixth of March of last year, 1652, the Hiroquois, who prowled around the French settlements all the Spring and all the Summer, defeated a Squad of Hurons who were going in search of them at a great distance, and found them very near, without expecting it. They were in ambush at the river of la Magdelaine, six leagues, or thereabout, above three Rivers. That Squad, commanded by a man named *Toratati*, fell into their hands and was entirely defeated.

On the 10th of May, Father Jacques Buteux (as related in the first Chapter of this Relation) was put to death, with a Frenchman accompanying him, named Fontarabie.

On the 13th of the same month, a band of Algonquins, on their way to the country of the Attikamegues, were surprised and defeated when they were

le lieu où le Pere Buteux auoit esté massacré, furent surpris, & défaits. Vn ieune homme ayant tué vn des Hiroquois qui les surprirent, fut au mesme lieu brûlé, & tourmenté d'une façon horrible.

Le 16. du mesme mois, les Algonquins des trois Riuieres ayans appris la défaite de leurs gens, s'en allerent attendre les [117] Hiroquois au passage: mais ils tomberent dans les pieges qu'ils vouloient tendre à leurs ennemis, vne autre bande d'Hiroquois cachée dans le Lac de S. Pierre, où ils alloient dresser leur embusche, les tailla en piece pour la plupart.

Le mesme iour arriua à Montreal vn foldat Huron, de la compagnie de Toratati, qui s'estoit fauüé des mains des Hiroquois; il rapporta que ce Capitaine auoit esté brûlé, & qu'on auoit donné la vie à ceux qui restoient de sa bande. C'est ainsi que les Hiroquois grossissent leurs troupes.

Le 15. du mesme mois, vne femme Huronne travaillant à Montreal à cultiuer du bled d'Inde, fut enleuée par les Hiroquois, avec deux de ses enfans. Ces miserables se cachent dans les bois, derriere des fouches, dans des trous qu'ils font en terre, où ils passent les deux & trois iours quelquefois sans manger, pour attendre, & pour surprendre leur proye.

Le 21. vn foldat François & vn Sauvage trauerfans le grand Fleuve dans vn Canot, deuant le Fort des trois Riuieres, furent attaquez, & tous deux bleffez; le Sauvage mourut deux iours apres de ses bleffures.

[118] Le 26. du mesme mois de May, vn François qui gardoit du bestial à Montreal, fut mis à mort, & vne femme Françoisse fut bleffée de cinq ou six coups

passing the place where Father Buteux had been murdered. A young man who had killed one of the Hiroquois who surprised them, was burnt and tormented in a horrible manner, on the same spot.

On the 16th of the same month, the Algonquins of three Rivers, having learned of the defeat of their people, went out to lie in wait for the [117] Hiroquois as they passed; but they fell into the trap which they intended to set for their enemies, for another band of Hiroquois—concealed near Lake St. Pierre, where they were going to lay their ambuscade—cut them into pieces, for the most part.

On the same day, there arrived from Montreal a Huron soldier of Toratati's company, who had escaped from the hands of the Hiroquois. He reported that this Captain had been burnt, and that those of his band that were left had been given their lives. It is thus that the Hiroquois swell their troops.

On the 15th of the same month, a Huron woman, who was working at Montreal cultivating Indian corn, was carried off by the Hiroquois, with two of her children. These wretches hide in the woods, behind tree-trunks or in holes which they make in the ground, where they pass two and three days sometimes, without eating, in order to lie in wait and surprise their prey.

On the 21st, a French soldier and a Savage—crossing the great River, in a Canoe, before the Fort of three Rivers—were attacked, and both wounded, the Savage dying of his wounds two days afterward.

[118] On the 26th of the same month of May, a Frenchman who was tending cattle at Montreal was put to death; and a French woman received five or six wounds,—not dangerous, however, since she

bien fauorables, puis qu'elle n'en mourut pas, son courage la tira du danger. Ces Lutins font par tout, & en tout temps.

Le 8. de Iuin, deux Hurons tendans vne ligne pour prendre du poisson, proche des Isles du fleuee appellé les trois Riuieres, furent massacrez. Comme ce lieu est tout proche des habitations Françoises, on accourut au bruit, on pourfuiuit les Hiroquois, qui se fauerent, abandonnans leur bagage, & les cheue-lures de deux hommes qu'ils auoient tuez.

Le 19. du mesme mois, trois Canots arriuerent par le fleuee des trois Riuieres, portâs nouuelle que les Hiroquois estoient entrez bien auant dans le pays des Attikamegues, & qu'ils les auoient défaits pour la troisieme fois.

Le 2. de Iuillet, à cinq heures du matin, quelques Hurons s'en allans à la pesche vis-à-vis du Fort des François, à l'autre bord du grand fleuee, qui est assez large en cet endroit, les Hiroquois qui estoient en embuscade, leur courent sus: mais ils [119] se ietterent dans la chaloupe des François, qui les estoient venus escorter. Les Hiroquois montent dâs leurs Canots, ils font feu de tous costez, pourfuiuans cette chaloupe; qui mettant la voile au vent, se tira de ce danger. Estant abordée proche du Fort des François, quelques foldats s'embarquent, les Sauuages les fuiuent dans leurs Canots, ils donnent la chasse aux Hiroquois, les pressent de fort pres: mais comme ils sont adroits, ils firent alte, se mettant à l'abry de nos armes à feu; & voyans que la peau de Lyon ne les pouuoit pas couvrir, ils se voulurent feruir de la peau du Renard. Ils enuoyent vn Canot vers nos gens, poussé par deux hômes, qui demandent à parle-

did not die of them; her courage brought her out of the danger. These wanton Rascals abound everywhere, and at all times.

On the 8th of June, two Hurons who were stretching a line to catch some fish, near the Islands of the river called three Rivers, were butchered. As this place is very near the French settlements, some men hastened hither, on hearing the noise, and pursued the Hiroquois, who made their escape, leaving behind their equipage, and the scalps of the two men whom they had killed.

On the 19th of the same month, three Canoes arrived by the river of three Rivers, bringing word that the Hiroquois had made their way very far into the country of the Attikamegues, and had defeated them for the third time.

On the 2nd of July, at five o'clock in the morning, when some Hurons were going out to fish opposite the Fort of the French, on the other side of the great river, which is of considerable width at this place, the Hiroquois, who were in ambush, rushed upon them; but they [119] jumped into the shallop of the French who had come to escort them. The Hiroquois took to their Canoes and opened fire in all directions, pursuing the shallop, which spread its sail to the wind and extricated itself from this danger. Having reached land, near the French Fort, some soldiers entered it; the Savages followed them in their Canoes, and they gave chase to the Hiroquois, pressing them very hard. But as they are adroit, they halted, protecting themselves from our firearms; and seeing that the Lion's skin could not cover them, they tried to use that of the Fox. They sent a Canoe toward our people, propelled by two

menter. On leur enuoye vn Canot de nostre costé, conduit par deux Hurons, & vn Algonquin: ces deux Canots se parlerent enuiron demie heure, éloignez l'un de l'autre de la portée d'un pistolet. Les Hiroquois dirent qu'ils estoient conduits par vn nommé *Aontarifat*, leur Capitaine, & qu'il vouloit parler aux François & aux Sauvages leurs alliez. On leur fit responce qu'ils descendissent vis-à-vis le Fort des François, & que là on leur parleroit: Ils s'y [120] transporterent en vn moment, & de là ils enuoyerent deux Canots au quartier des François: l'un portoit vn ieune Huron qu'ils auoient pris, & qu'ils mirent à terre en vn lieu vn peu au dessus du Fort, pour aller voir ses parens qui estoient parmy les François, c'estoit pour les solliciter à quitter leur party. L'autre Canot n'approcha pas de la terre, il s'escria de dessus l'eau, & demanda que les trois Capitaines, des François, des Algonquins, & des Hurons passassent la riuere, pour aller traiter avec leurs gens, & qu'ils enuoyeroient de leur costé les trois hommes les plus considerables d'entr'eux. On se moqua de cette proposition, & cependant quelques Canots s'approchant pour desbaucher nos Hurons, & les tirer à leur party, on en prit vn qui portoit trois Hiroquois, dont les deux estoient Capitaines fort signalez pour leurs meutres, en toutes les habitations Françaises. Ils furent plus heureux que les autres: car nos Peres les instruisirent, & les baptiferent deuant leur mort.

Le 25. du mesme mois de Iuillet, vne Escoüade composée de plus de cent Sauvages, se doutans bien que les ennemis [121] estoient respandus en diuers endroits, partirent pour en decouurir quelques-vns,

men, who demanded a parley; a Canoe was sent to them from our side, in charge of two Hurons and an Algonquin; and these two Canoes parleyed for about half an hour, keeping the distance of a pistol shot apart. The Hiroquois said they were led by a man named *Aontarisati*, their Captain, and that he wished to speak to the French, and to the Savages who were their allies. They were told, in answer, to go down opposite the French Fort, and there they should receive an interview. They [120] repaired thither immediately, and from that place sent two Canoes to the quarters of the French. One carried a young Huron whom they had captured, whom they put ashore at a spot a little above the Fort, to go and see his kinsfolk who were among the French; this was in order that he might incite them to desert the French side. The other Canoe did not approach the land, but called out from its position on the water, and asked that the three Captains—of the French, of the Algonquins, and of the Hurons—should cross the river in order to go and treat with their people; and they said that they would, on their side, send the three most prominent men of their number. This proposal was ridiculed; and, meanwhile, some Canoes approaching for the purpose of corrupting our Hurons and bringing them over to their side, one of them was captured, which carried three Hiroquois; two of these were Captains, who were notorious on account of the murders they had committed in all the French settlements. They were more fortunate than the rest, for our Fathers instructed and baptized them before their death.

On the 25th of the same month of July, a Squad composed of more than a hundred Savages, strongly

ils firent deux rencontres, se battirent fort & ferme, sans que nous sçachions avec quel succez du costé des Hiroquois; pour nos gens, ils retournerent le septiesme d'Aoust, ayant perdu deux hommes, & rapportans force bleffez.

Le 18. d'Aoust, quatre habitans des trois Riuieres descendans vn peu au deffous de la demeure des François, furent pourfuiuis des Hiroquois, qui en tuerent deux, à ce qu'on dit, & emmenerent les deux autres pour les sacrifier à leur rage.

Le 19. l'eschec fut bien plus gräd. Monsieur du Pleffis Kerbodot, Gouverneur des trois Riuieres, prenant avec soy quarante ou cinquante François, & dix ou douze Sauuages, les fit embarquer dans des chaloupes, pour donner la chaffe à l'ennemy, & recouurer, si on pouuoit, les prisonniers, & le bestial des François, que l'on croyoit enleué. Ayant vogué enuiron deux lieües au dessus du Fort, il apperceut les ennemis dans des broffailles, sur le bord des bois: il met pied à terre dans vn lieu plein de vases, & fort defaduantageux. Quelqu'vn luy represente l'auantage [122] de l'ennemy, qui auoit la forest pour retraite; il passe outre, marche teste baiffée: mais son courage luy fit perdre la vie, & à quinze François. Pendant ce cōbat, quelques Hiroquois destachez de leur gros, cafferēt la teste à vn pauure Huron & à sa femme qui trauailloient en leur champ, non loing des habitations Françoises. Dieu qui balance les victoires, & qui leur donne des limites, monstra dans ce defastre qu'il nous vouloit conferuer: car si les Hiroquois se fussent seruis de leur auantage, comme la terreur s'estoit iettée parmy nos

suspecting that the enemy [121] were scattered in various places, started out in order to find some of them. They had two encounters, and fought stoutly and resolutely, without our learning the degree of success on the side of the Hiroquois; as for our own people, they returned on the seventh of August, having lost two men, and bringing back many wounded.

On the 18th of August, four inhabitants of three Rivers, on going down a short distance below the settlement of the French, were pursued by the Hiroquois, who killed two of them, as it was reported, and carried off the other two, to sacrifice them to their wrath.

On the 19th, the repulse was much greater. Monsieur du Plessis Kerbodot, Governor of three Rivers, taking with him forty or fifty Frenchmen and ten or twelve Savages, had them embark in shallops to give chase to the enemy, to recover, if possible, the prisoners and the cattle belonging to the French, which, it was believed, had been carried away. After sailing to a distance of about two leagues above the Fort, he perceived the enemy in the undergrowth at the edge of the woods, and landed in a place that was full of mud and very disadvantageous. Some one pointed out to him the advantage [122] of the enemy, who had the forest for shelter. He went forward, advancing headlong; but his ardor made him lose his life, as well as those of fifteen Frenchmen. During this engagement some Hiroquois, detached from their main body, slew a poor Huron and his wife who were at work in their own field, not far from the French settlements. God, who balances victories and confines them within limits, showed in this disaster that it was his will to preserve us; for,

gens qui auoient perdu leur Chef, ils auroient bien esbranlez les habitans des trois Riuieres: mais ils se retirerent comme des gens qui ne sçauoient pas iouyr de leur victoire, & laisserent les Frâçois acheuer leurs moiffons, & faire leur recolte en paix, mais non pas fans douleur.

Le 23. du mesme mois d'Aoust, on alla visiter le lieu du combat, l'on trouua ces paroles esrites sur vn bouclier d'Hiroquois: *Normanville, Francheuille, Poisson, la Palme, Turgot, Chaillon, S. Germain, Onnejochronnons & Agneehronnons. Je n'ay encore perdu qu'un Ongle.* Normanville ieune [123] homme, adroit & vaillant, qui entendoit la langue Algonquine & l'Hiroquoise, auoit escrit ces paroles avec vn charbon, voulant donner à entendre que les sept personnes dont on voyoit les noms, estoient prises des Hiroquois, appelez, *Onnejochronnons*, & *Agneehronnons*, & que l'on ne luy auoit fait encor autre mal que de luy arracher vn ongle. Je crains fort que ces pauures victimes ne soient immolées à la rage, & à la fureur de ces Barbares. Vne Dame honorée pour sa vertu, a escrit à quelque personne en France, qui auoit connoissance du sieur de Normanville, qu'il sembloit auoir eu quelque presentiment de sa prise. Il est probable (disoit-il à cette Dame vn peu deuant que de tomber entre les mains de ces Barbares) qu'estant tous les iours dans les occasions, ie pourray estre pris des Hiroquois: mais j'espere que Dieu me fera la grace de souffrir constammēt leurs feux, & que j'auray le bonheur de baptiser quelques enfans moribons, & mesme quelques malades adultes, que j'instruiray dans leur pays deuant ma mort.

if the Hiroquois had followed up their advantage,—as panic had been spread among our people, who had lost their Chief,—they would have wrought havoc among the inhabitants of three Rivers. But they retired, not knowing how to make use of their victory, and suffered the French to finish their harvests and garner their crops in peace, but not without sorrow.

On the 23rd of the same month of August, a visit was made to the scene of the engagement, where these words were found written on a Hiroquois buckler: *Normanville, Francheville, Poisson, la Palme, Turgot, Chaillon, St. Germain, Onneichronnons and Agneehronons. I have as yet lost only a Finger-nail.* Normanville, a young [123] man of skill and bravery who understood the Algonquin and Hiroquois languages, had written these words with a piece of charcoal, wishing to convey the information that the seven persons whose names were seen, had been taken by the Hiroquois known as the *Onneichronnons* and *Agneehronons*, and that he had himself up to that time received no further injury than the tearing out of a finger-nail. I greatly fear that these poor victims have been sacrificed to the rage and fury of those Barbarians. A Lady, honored for her virtue, has written to some one in France, who was acquainted with the sieur de Normanville, that he seemed to have had some presentiment of his capture. "It is probable" (he said to this Lady a short time before falling into the hands of those Barbarians) "that, as I am every day exposed to danger, I may be captured by the Hiroquois. But I hope God will give me the grace to endure their fires with constancy, and that I shall have the good fortune to baptize some dying children, or even some adult sick

Le 30. du mesme mois d'Aoust, les Hiroquois prirent encore vn ieune Huron, [124] & l'emmenèrent tout vif en leur pays.

Vne lettre dattée du premier de Nouembre, parle en ces termes. Quelques Hurons nous viennent d'apprendre, que deux Frâçois ont esté recêment tuez aux Trois Riuieres, & que deux autres ont eu les bras cassez. Ils adjoustent qu'en passant la nuit vers la Roche bruslée, ils ont ouy chanter les Hiroquois, cōme ils ont coustume de chanter quand ils tourmentent leurs prisonniers.

Vn Algonquin vient d'arriuer à Sillery, qui dit que ces mesmes Barbares se faisirent hier, vis-à-vis de faincte Croix, d'un Sauvage & de deux femmes de sa nation. Quantité de nos Neophytes sont allez à la chasse en ce quartier-là, ie crains fort qu'ils ne donnēt dans les pâneaux de ces chasseurs d'hommes. Noël Tekotierimat s'en va promptement armer la ieunesse, qui est icy en assez bon nombre, pour obuier à ce malheur: mais il fouhaiteroit bien que Monsieur nostre Gouverneur luy donnast vne escorte Françoise. Voila ce que porte cette lettre.

Pour comble de toutes nos calamitez, on nous affeure que les Hiroquois veulēt rassembler toutes leurs forces, pour nous [125] venir perdre l'Hyuer prochain, c'est le rapport qu'en ont fait les fugitifs, & la raison qu'ils en donnent, est fort probable. Ils disent donc que les Hiroquois d'endas, nommés, *Agneehronnons*, demandent l'an passé, du secours aux Hiroquois des pays plus hautes, nommés les *Sontouaheronnons*, pour venir combattre les François: mais que les *Sontouaheronnons*, repondirent qu'ils auoient des ennemis voyfins sur les bras, & que s'ils

persons whom I shall instruct in their own country before my death."

On the 30th of the same month of August, the Hiroquois captured another young Huron, [124] and carried him away alive to their own country.

A letter, dated the first of November, conveys the following information: "Some Hurons have just apprised us that two Frenchmen have recently been killed at Three Rivers, and that two others have had their arms broken. They add that, when spending the night near the burnt Rock, they heard the Hiroquois singing as they are wont to sing when they torture their prisoners.

"An Algonquin who has just come to Sillery says that yesterday, opposite sainte Croix, those same Barbarians captured a Savage and two women of his nation. A good many of our Neophytes have gone out hunting in that direction, and I greatly fear lest they may fall into the snares of those hunters of men. Noël Tekouerimat is setting out immediately to arm the young men, who are here in considerable numbers, in order to avert such a disaster; but he would very much like to have Monsieur our Governor give him a French escort." Those are the contents of that letter.

To crown all our calamities, we are informed that the Hiroquois intend to rally together all their forces, in order to [125] come and destroy us next Winter. Such is the report made by the fugitives, and the reason which they give is very probable. They say, then, that the Hiroquois of the lower country, who are called *Agneehronnons*, asked aid, last year, from the Hiroquois of the upper districts, who are called *Sontouaheronnons*, in order that they might

les vouloient venir aider à les destruire, qu'ils se ioindroient à eux par apres, pour perdre les François. Les Hiroquois *Agneehronnons*, ont accepté la condition, ils ont enuoié leurs troupes avec celles des *Sontouaheronnons*, qui, avec ce fecours, ont detruit la nation Neutre, qui leur estoit voisine. Si bien qu'ils sont obligés de se ioindre avec les Hiroquois nommés *Agneehronnons*, pour venir combattre les François, voila ce que portent les memoires qui ont feruy de materiaux, pour bastir ce Chapitre.

Le Demon sçait bien prendre son temps. Voyant que l'ancienne France est dechirée par ses propres enfans, il veut destruire la nouvelle, pour retablir son Domaine [126] & son Royaume, qu'il va perdant tous les iours, par la conuersion de ces pauvres Americains septentrionaux, dont desia quelques Milliers sont entrez au Ciel, par la porte de la foy, du Baptisme, & d'une sainte vie. Ceux qui restent & qui forment une Eglise fort innocente, s'ecrient, secourés nous vous autres, qui dites, que vous estes nos freres: ne laissez pas estouffer par les Hiroquois le germe de vostre creance, & la graine de la foy, & la semence de l'Euangile, que nous auons receuë par vostre entremise. Si vous aymez Iesus-Christ deffendez ceux qui l'ayment, & qui sont baptisez en son nom.

Il y a quelque temps qu'on demandoit des foldats; & leur folde: ou leur appointemens, on demandoit leurs viures, & leurs armes, & leur passage, à present que le pays donne des bleds: pour nourrir ses habitans, & qu'il se fait tous les iours, on ne demande plus pour le soutient de ces grandes contrées, que le payement du passage de deux ou trois cens hommes de trauail,

come to fight against the French. But the *Sontouaheronnons* made answer that they had upon their hands enemies near home; and, if they would come and help destroy these, they themselves would join them later on for the purpose of destroying the French. The *Agnechronnon* Hiroquois accepted the condition and sent their troops to join those of the *Sontouaheronnons*,—who, with this assistance, have destroyed the Neutral nation, which was on their borders. Consequently, they are obliged to join forces with the Hiroquois called *Agnechronnons*, for the purpose of coming to make war on the French. Those are the contents of the memoirs which have served as material for writing this Chapter.

The Demon well knows how to seize his opportunity. Seeing that old France is rent asunder by her own children, he wishes to destroy the new, in order to reëstablish his Dominion [126] and his Kingdom, which is steadily going to ruin, owing to the conversion of these poor north Americans, of whom some Thousands have already entered into Heaven by the door of faith, of Baptism, and of a holy life. Those who remain, forming a Church of great innocence, cry out: "Help us, ye people who call yourselves our brothers. Let not the Hiroquois stifle to death the germ of your belief, and the seed of the faith, and the plant of the Gospel, which we have received through your agency. If ye love Jesus Christ, protect those who love him and are baptized in his name."

Some time ago, there was a request for soldiers, and for their pay, or salary; their provisions were asked for, as well as their arms and their passage. But now,—when the country is yielding grain for

chaque année: les habitans du pays, les nourriront, & payeront leurs gages. La France, qui se descharge incessamment dans les pays [127] estrangers, ne manque pas d'hommes pour dresser des Colonies, Dieu vueille qu'elle ait assez de charité, pour les faire passer en vn lieu, où ils viueront plus faintement, & plus à leur aise, & où ils feroient, la deffence, & le secours, de Iesus-Christ, qui honore tant les hommes, qu'il les veut sauuer par le secours des hommes. C'est affés, finissons ce Chapitre par vne lettre, qu'un Capitaine Sauage, & bon Chrestien, à enuoyée au Pere Paul le Jeune, qui trauaille en l'ancienne France pour le salut de la nouuelle.

Pere le Jeune il me semble que ie te voy quand on me lit ta lettre, & il me semble que ie suis avec toy, quand ie te parle, par la bouche, ou par la plume du Pere de Quen. Je ne mens point, il me semble que c'est aujourd'hui que tu m'as baptisé, ie vieilly, mais la foy ne vieillit point en moy. L'ayme autant la priere au bout de quinze ans, que le premier iour, que tu m'as instruit. Nous Changeons en tout, nous autres gens de ce pays cy, mais ie t'affure, que ie ne changeray iamais, en ce que tu m'as enseigné, & en ce que nous enseigne celuy qui nous gouuerne en ta place. Voire mesme ie ne change quasi [128] plus de lieu, ie passeray l'Hyuer prochain à *Ka-Miskouangachit*, que vous nômez S. Ioseph, comme j'y ay passé le precedent. Je suis quasi tout François. L'ay ris quand le Pere de Quen m'a dit que tu auois montré la robe que ie t'enuoyay l'Automne passé, à des Dames d'importance de vostre pays, & qu'elle leur auoit agréé: Ce n'est pas qu'elle soit belle, c'est qu'elles aiment, & qu'elles voyent volontiers ce qui

the feeding of her people, and this is being done every day,—the only thing demanded for the maintenance of these vast regions is the payment of transportation for two or three hundred workmen each year; the inhabitants of the country will feed them and pay their wages. France, who is constantly emptying herself into foreign countries, [127] does not lack men to build up Colonies. God grant that she may have charity enough to send them to a place where they will live holier and easier lives, and where they would be the defense and aid of Jesus Christ, who honors men so highly that he chooses to save them by the help of men. That is enough. Let us finish this Chapter with a letter that a Savage Captain, a good Christian, sent to Father Paul le Jeune, who is laboring in old France for the salvation of the new.

“ Father le Jeune: I seem to see thee, when thy letter is read to me; and I seem to be with thee, when I speak to thee by the mouth, or the pen, of Father de Quen. I do not lie; it seems to me only yesterday that thou didst baptize me. I am growing old, but the faith is not growing old in me. I love prayer as much, at the end of fifteen years, as on the first day when thou didst instruct me. We are Changing in all things, we people of this country; but I assure thee that I never shall change in regard to what thou didst teach me, and what we are now taught by him who governs us in thy place. Indeed, I make hardly any further change, [128] even in my location; I shall pass the coming Winter at *Ka-Miskouaouangachit*, which you call St. Joseph, as I passed the last one. I am almost wholly French. I laughed when Father de Quen told me

vient de nous autres. I'eusse volontiers veu la robe que tu m'enuoyes; on dit qu'il y a de l'or dessus. N'as-tu point eu cette pensée, Noël deviendra orgueilleux quand il s'en fera. Ne laisse pas de l'enuoyer le Printemps prochain, si ie meurs cet Hyuer, mon fils, quand il fera plus grand, la portera, & il logera dans la maison qu'on a fait pour nous au Fort de Silvery: haste-toy de venir, & de nous amener quantité de porteurs d'espées, pour esloigner de nos testes les Hiroquois. Nous ferons bien tost des ames de trespassez: n'attends pas que nous foyons au tombeau pour nous venir voir, c'est ton bon amy Noël Tekouerimat qui t'escrit, & qui te dit, qu'il priera toujours Dieu pour toy, & pour ceux qui nous assistent. [129] Parle au grand Capitaine de la France, & luy dis que les Hollandois de ces costes nous font mourir, fournissans des armes à feu, & en abondance, & à bon prix, aux Hiroquois nos ennemis. Dis-luy qu'il donne secours à ceux qui sont baptifez. C'est la fin de mon discours.

thou hadst shown the robe that I sent thee last Autumn to some Ladies of importance in your country, and that they were pleased with it. That was not because it is beautiful, but because they like, and are glad to see, what comes from us. I would have been pleased to see the robe that thou art going to send me; it is said that there is gold upon it. Didst thou not have this thought: 'Noël will become haughty when he uses it?' Do not fail to send it next Spring; if I die this Winter, my son, when he grows up, will wear it, and he will live in the house that has been made for us at the Fort of Sillery. Make haste to come, and to bring us many sword-bearers, in order to drive away the Hiroquois from our heads. We shall soon be departed souls; do not wait until we are in the grave before coming to see us. It is thy good friend, Noël Tekouerimat, who writes to thee, and who says that he will always pray to God for thee, and for those who give us aid. [129] Speak to the great Captain of France, and tell him that the Dutch of these coasts are causing our destruction, by furnishing firearms in abundance, and at a low price, to the Hiroquois, our enemies. Tell him to give aid to those who are baptized. That is all I have to say."

CHAPITRE X.

DE LA VIE & DE LA MORT DE LA MERE MARIE DE
S. IOSEPH, DECEDÉE AU SEMINAIRE DES
VRSULINES DE KEBEC.

LA Mere Marie de l'Incarnation, Superieure du Seminaire des Vrsulines de Kebec en la nouvelle France, voulant confoler ses Sœurs sur la mort de la Mere Marie de sainct Ioseph, leur a enuoyé vn abregé de sa vie, de sa mort, & de ses vertus. Ces Memoires estans tombez entre mes mains, j'ay creu que ce feroit faire tort au public de renfermer ce thresor dans les seules Maisons des Vrsulines. I'en ay donc tiré la plupart des choses que ie vay déduire dans ce Chapitre.

[130] DE SON ENFANCE.

LA Mere Marie de sainct Ioseph naquit en Anjou le septiesme de Septembre de l'année 1616. Elle estoit fille de Monsieur & de Madame de la Troche de sainct Germain, ses pere & mere; personnes de vertu, de merite, & de condition. Le Sainct Esprit la preuint dès sa plus tendre enfance, de mille graces, & de mille benedictions, qu'elle attribuoit toutes à la sainte Vierge, disant que Madame sa mere l'auoit dediée & consacrée à cette Reyne des Vierges dès le moment de sa naissance, & que c'estoit pour ce fujet qu'elle luy fit donner le beau nom de Marie, qui luy estoit bien si agreable, que iamais elle

CHAPTER X.

OF THE LIFE AND DEATH OF MOTHER MARIE DE ST.
JOSEPH, WHO DIED AT THE SEMINARY
OF THE URSULINES OF KEBEC.

MOTHER Marie de l'Incarnation, Superioress of the Ursuline Seminary of Kebec, in new France, wishing to console her Sisters in regard to the death of Mother Marie de saint Joseph, sent them a short account of her life, her death, and her virtues. As these Memoirs have fallen into my hands, I thought it would be wronging the public to confine the enjoyment of this treasure exclusively to the Houses of the Ursulines. Accordingly, I have extracted therefrom the greater part of the facts which I shall relate in this Chapter.

[130] OF HER CHILDHOOD.

MOTHER Marie de saint Joseph was born in Anjou, on the seventh of September, in the year 1616. She was the daughter of Monsieur and Madame de la Troche, of saint Germain, persons of virtue, worth, and quality. The Holy Ghost endowed her from her tenderest infancy with a thousand graces and a thousand blessings, all of which she attributed to the blessed Virgin, saying that Madame her mother had dedicated and consecrated her to that Queen of the Virgins from the moment of her birth; and that it was for that reason that she had the beautiful name

ne s'est oüye appeller de ce nom, qu'elle n'en ait ressenty de la douceur. Cette Vierge Reyne, & Mere des Vierges, respandit dans le cœur de cette petite l'amour de la pureté & de la Religion, deuant qu'elle sceust que c'estoit que pureté & que Religion, si ce n'est que l'on die, ce que quelques personnes ont remarqué, que l'usage de raison luy auoit esté notablement auancé.

[131] Messieurs ses parens se pourmenans certain iour dans l'allée d'un bois de l'une de leurs maisons, enuoyerent querir leur petite Marie, qui n'auoit pour lors que quatre ans: Le valet de chambre ou le laquais qui la portoit entre ses bras, luy fit en chemin quelques caresses mesleantes, la pauvre enfant se mit à pleurer, & à se debattre d'une façon si estrange, que cet homme estonné eut bien de la peine de forger un mensonge pour cacher le sujet de ses pleurs. Or ie dirois volontiers que c'est là le plus grand péché qu'elle ait iamais commis contre la pureté. M'ayant rendu en la nouuelle France un compte fort exact de toutes les actions de sa vie, ie puis dire (pour rendre hõneur & gloire à la source de toutes les bontez) que ie ne me souuiens pas d'auoir remarqué aucune faute qui approchast de loing d'un péché grief. Me parlant puis apres des caresses de cet homme, qui passerent en un moment, elle pleuroit encore à chaudes larmes, non pas qu'elle creust y auoir commis aucune offense, mais par une sainte ialousie pour la pureté, se plaignant avec douleur, de ce qu'estant si particulièrement dediée & attachée à la sainte Vierge, [132] elle eut fait ce miserable rencontre, injurieux à sa pureté.

Elle fuyoit l'abord des hommes dès ce petit aage,

Marie given her,—which, indeed, was so pleasing to her that she never heard herself called by that name without feeling its sweetness. That Royal Virgin and Mother of Virgins diffused in this little one's heart the love of purity and of Religion before she knew what purity and Religion were, unless it may be said—a thing which some persons remarked—that she was notably precocious in the use of her reason.

[131] “ Her parents were taking a walk, one day, in the wooded path on one of their estates, when they sent for their little Marie, who was then only four years old. The *valet de chambre*, or footman, who brought her in his arms, gave her on the way some improper caresses; the poor child began to cry and to resist, in so strange a manner that this astonished man had much difficulty in framing a falsehood to conceal the cause of her tears. Now I would willingly assert that this was the greatest sin against purity she ever committed. Though she gave me a very exact account, in new France, of all the acts of her life, I can say (to render honor and glory to the source of all goodness) that I do not remember having noted any fault that approached, even remotely, a serious offense. Speaking to me, then, afterward about that man's caresses, which were over in a moment, she still wept hot tears,—not that she believed she had committed any fault in the matter, but from a holy jealousy for purity, lamenting with sorrow that, after having been so expressly dedicated and attached to the blessed Virgin, [132] she should have had that unfortunate experience, to the detriment of her purity.

non par grande conduite de la raifon, mais par l'infinct d'un Efprit fuperieur, qui luy faifoit parler d'eftre Religieufe, fans les connoiftre que de nom. Monsieur fon pere la voyant d'une humeur gentille, prenoit plaisir de la contrarier dans cette inclination, il luy difoit fouuent qu'il la vouloit marier à un petit Gentilhomme qui estoit de son aage, & fouuent luy faifoit de petits prefens, qu'il difoit luy estre enuoyez de fa part. La pauvre enfant se demenoit, & s'affligeoit si fort, prenant cette raillerie pour une verité, que Madame sa mere s'apperceuant que la tristesse commençoit à la deffecher, pria Monsieur son mary de se priuer de cette recreation. Arriua certain iour qu'un homme de condition la voulant agacer, la baifa par furprife; elle, en se retournant, luy donna un foufflet si ferré qu'il le sentit bien, quoy qu'il ne fust porté que de la main d'un enfant.

Ayant remarqué que Madame sa mere donnoit l'aumofne aux pauvres, & qu'elle parloit d'eux avec compassion: fouuent [133] elle se déroboit d'aupres d'elle pour leur porter son déjeufner, & sa collation, & mefme ce qu'elle pouuoit trouuer en la cuisine. Sa bonne mere s'en eftant apperceuë, non feulemment ne l'improoua point, au contraire elle l'embrassa, la careffa, & luy donna toute permission de donner l'aumofne, & de visiter les pauvres qu'elle nourriffoit, la menant avec elle pour la refiouyr quand elle alloit distribuer ses charitez. *Bona arbor, bonos fructus facit.* D'un bon arbre il vient de bons fructs.

Elle auoit une auersion naturelle aux bijoux, aux affiquets, & à ces petits menus fatras, qui font bien fouuent les plus belles occupations des filles qui

“ From that early age she avoided the approach of men, not through any exercise of her reason, but by the instinct of a superior Spirit, which made her speak of being a Nun without knowing what they were except by name. Monsieur her father, seeing that she was of an amiable disposition, took pleasure in opposing her in this inclination,—often telling her that he wished to marry her to a little Gentleman of her own age; and often making her little presents, which he said were sent to her from him. The poor child resisted and grieved so greatly, taking this raillery for earnest, that Madame her mother, perceiving that she was beginning to waste away with melancholy, begged Monsieur her husband to forego this diversion. It happened, one day, that a man of condition, wishing to tease her, kissed her by surprise; she turned around and gave him so smart a blow in the face that he felt it sharply, although it was delivered only by the hand of a child.”

Having noted that Madame her mother gave alms to the poor, and spoke of them with compassion, she would often [133] steal away from her side to carry them her breakfast and her lunch, and even what she could find in the kitchen. Her good mother, upon perceiving this, not only did not disapprove of her conduct, but even kissed and caressed her, and gave her full permission to bestow alms, and to visit the poor whom she fed,—taking the child with her, in order to give her pleasure, when she went to dispense her own charities. *Bona arbor bonos fructus facit*,—“ From a good tree come good fruits.”

“ She had a natural aversion for jewels, gewgaws, and those little insignificant trifles which often constitute the highest pursuits of girls who are fond of

aiment le monde. Elle portoit enuie à la condition d'une petite bergere qu'elle voyoit en certain endroit, pource qu'elle estoit deliurée du foin de porter des gands, d'ajuster un masque, de conferuer de petits ornemens qu'on luy donnoit, & de se composer à la mode. Messieurs ses parens qui la voyoient gentille, & d'un naturel si aimable, & d'ailleurs si esloignée des façons de faire des personnes de sa condition, qu'on élue pour le monde; la voulurent [134] mettre dans les dispositions de se consacrer entierement à Dieu, s'il daignoit l'appeller à son service. Madame sa mere la conduisit elle-mesme à Tours, en l'age de huit à neuf ans, & la confia aux bonnes Meres Ursulines, à qui Notre Seigneur a donné beaucoup de graces pour élever la ieunesse en sa crainte & en son amour.

Cette ieune Damoiselle ravit bien tost les cœurs de toutes ses compagnes; elle prit sur elles un empire par ses deferences, par les civilités, & par les petits services qu'elle leur rendoit, si bien qu'elles la regardoient comme leur petite maîtresse; & jamais ne furent jalouses de la voir aimée par dessus les autres, jusques-là, que les Religieuses se servoient d'elle pour l'instruction des autres. Et encore qu'elle fust fort gaie, & qu'elle aimast ses petits divertissemens, c'estoit toujours sans prejudice de ses deuotions, s'appliquant avec un grand plaisir à la lecture de la vie des Saints, notamment de ceux qui avoient travaillé à la conversion des ames. De là vient qu'elle aimoit, & qu'elle honoroit uniquement l'Apôtre des Indes, S. François Xavier, faisant de sa vie ses innocentes [135] delices, en sorte qu'elle se déroboit souvent de

the world. She envied the lot of a little shepherd-girl whom she saw somewhere, because she was freed from the trouble of wearing gloves, of adjusting a mask, of keeping little ornaments that were given to her, and of adapting herself to the fashion. Her father and mother, seeing that she was delicate, and of so sweet a disposition, besides being so different in her ways from persons of her condition who are reared for the world, wished [134] to induce in her a disposition to consecrate herself entirely to God, if he should deign to call her to his service. Madame her mother herself took her to Tours, at the age of eight or nine years, and gave her in charge of the good Ursuline Mothers, on whom Our Lord has conferred much grace for the rearing of youth in his fear and his love.

“ This young Lady soon charmed the hearts of all her companions. She gained an empire over them by her deference and courtesy, and by the little services she rendered them,—so that they regarded her as their little mistress, and were never jealous at seeing her loved more than the others, and even to such a degree that the Nuns employed her to teach the others. And although she was very merry-hearted, and liked her little amusements, it was always without detriment to her devotions. She applied herself with great pleasure to reading the lives of Saints, especially of those who had toiled in the conversion of souls; hence it was that she loved and honored with peculiar fervor the Apostle of the Indies, St. Francis Xavier, making his life her innocent [135] delight,—so that she often stole away from her companions, and deprived herself of her amusements, in order to find time to read it.”

ses compagnes, & se prioit de ses recreations, pour trouver le temps de la lire.

Ie ne sçay si la delicateffe de son naturel, ou la contention qu'elle apportoit pour acquerir la vertu, la firent tomber malade: quoy qu'il en soit, les Medecins iugerent qu'il la falloit remettre en son air natal: elle ne fut pas long-temps chez ses parens, qu'elle ne retournaît à sa premiere santé. Elle ne quitta point ses deuotions, pour estre esloignée de la maison, & de la conduite des Meres Vrfelines. Elle se confessoit, & se communioit fort souuent; elle donnoit quelque temps à l'oraïson mentale; elle parloit de Dieu, & portoit les domestiques à la pratique des vertus, avec vn raisonnement si solide, que Monsieur & Mada. de la Troche ne pouuoient conceuoir qu'une fille de son aage pût monter si haut, à moins que d'estre doiée d'une grace fort extraordinaire.

Comme elle se sentit entierement guerïe, elle demanda permission de retourner en son petit Paradis: Elle l'obtint, mais non pas sans peine: car le nouveau [136] commerce, & les nouveaux entretiens qu'elle auoit eüe avec ses parens, les auoit si estroitement liez de part & d'autre, que quand il fut question de se separer, ie ne sçay qui souffrit dauantage, des parens ou de l'enfant. Elle a dit depuis, que l'amour qu'ils luy portoient, que la confiance que luy tesmoinoit sa bonne mere par dessus ses freres & ses sœurs, l'auoient si doucement charmée, que la violence qu'elle se fit pour les quitter la pensa faire tomber, & passer de douleur. D'autre costé, Messieurs ses parens iamais ne luy peurent dire Adieu; & Madame sa mere craignant d'exceder dans les tendresses qu'elle

I know not whether the delicacy of her temperament, or the intensity with which she devoted herself to the acquisition of virtue, made her fall ill; however that may be, the Physicians deemed it necessary to send her back to her native air. She was not long with her parents before she recovered her former health. She did not discontinue her devotions, despite the distance separating her from the house and the guidance of the Ursuline Mothers. She confessed and received communion with much frequency; she gave some time to silent prayer; she talked about God, and incited the servants to the practice of the virtues, with such well-grounded argument that Monsieur and Madame de la Troche were unable to conceive how a girl of her age could attain such heights, unless she were endowed with very extraordinary grace.

“ Feeling herself entirely cured, she asked permission to return to her little Paradise. She obtained it, but not without difficulty; for the new [136] intercourse and the new conversations that she had had with her parents had bound them so closely together on both sides that, when the question of parting came up, I do not know which suffered more, the parents or the child. She has since said that the love they bore her, and the confidence which her good mother manifested in her, above her brothers and sisters, had exerted so sweet a charm over her that the violence she did to herself in leaving them came near making her fall down in a swoon from grief. On the other side, her parents could never say ‘ Adieu ’ to her; and Madame her mother, fearing lest she would go to excess in the tenderness that she felt for her daughter, could not escort her back,

auoit pour sa fille, ne la pût reconduire, elle pria vne sienne parente de luy rendre cet office d'amour & de charité.

Nostre ieune Damoiselle ayant rompu ses Liens, & ses chaines; par vn desir d'estre toute à Dieu, ne fut pas si tost éloignée de la maison de son Pere, que la ioie s'empara de son cœur. Vous eussies dit que l'Esprit de Dieu la faisoit voler, & qu'il la faisoit iouir du triomphe apres cette noble victoire. A mesme temps qu'elle est renduë à la maison des Vrfulines, elle [137] entre dans vn nouveau Combat. Elle prie, elle coniuire les Meres de la recevoir en leur Nouitiat, pour estre Religieuse. On luy dit qu'elle n'a pas l'age, qu'elle n'a que treize ans ou enuiron, & qu'il en faut quatorze, ce rebut, & ses ferueurs, la faisoient deseicher, elle prenoit garde par où la Superieur, & les Religieuses deuoient passer, elle les attendoit, & les supplioit les deux genoux en terre d'auoir pitié d'elle. On luy repart, qu'elle na point de fanté, & qu'il faut plustost parler de la renuoier chés Messieurs ses parens, que de l'admettre au Nouitiat. La pauvre enfant soupiroit, & protestoit que le Nouitiat seroit sa guerison. La Mere de saint Bernard qui l'aymoit vniquement, iugea qu'il luy falloit donner ce contentement, avec obligation neanmoins de fortir si Messieurs ses parens la vouloient retirer: elle l'acorde à ce qu'on luy demande, pour iouir de ce qu'elle demandoit, & Dieu luy fit la grace de trouuer la fanté dans ce lieu de benediction. La crainte apres tout qu'elle eut d'ẽ fortir, luy fit mettre aussi-tost des messagers, & des lettres en campagne, pour obtenir de Monsieur son pere, & de Madame, sa mere, [138] la grace d'estre Religieuse Vrfuline, sans toutefois

but begged a relative of hers to render her that office of love and charity.

“ Our young Lady, having broken her Bonds and her chains, from a desire to belong wholly to God, was no sooner away from her Father's house than joy took possession of her heart. You would have said that the Spirit of God made her fly, and exult in her triumph, after that noble victory. At the same time when she was restored to the house of the Ursulines, she [137] entered on a new Struggle. She prayed, she conjured the Mothers to receive her into their Novitiate, that she might become a Nun. She was told that she was not old enough,—that she was only thirteen or thereabout, and that fourteen was the required age. This repulse and her own fervor made her pine away; she gave heed where the Superior and the Nuns were to pass, where she waited for them, and implored them on her knees to take pity on her. They answered her that she was out of health and they must rather speak about sending her back to her honored parents than about admitting her to the Novitiate. The poor child sighed, and protested that the Novitiate would be her cure. Mother de saint Bernard, who loved her fondly, decided that it was necessary to grant her this satisfaction, with the condition, however, that she must leave if her parents wished to withdraw her. She agreed to what was required from her, that she might enjoy what she herself was asking for; and God graciously caused her to find her health in this place of benediction. Her fear lest, after all, she might have to leave it, made her send out messengers and letters without delay, to obtain from Monsieur her father and Madame her mother [138] this boon, that she

leur dire qu'elle eut desia fait le premier pas. Voicy comme cette faueur luy fut accordée.

DE SON NOUITIAT & DE SA PROFESSION.

Monsieur & Madame de la Troche voyans que leur fille entroit sur sa quatorziesme année, & qu'elles les preffoit fortement de luy accorder l'entrée en Religion, ils se transporterent à Tours, à dessein de la bien esprouuer: car quoy qu'ils l'eussent offert à Dieu dès son berceau, en cas qu'il luy pleut l'aggrer pour sa maison, si est-ce neantmoins que l'amour qu'ils luy portoient, leur fit prendre resolution de ne la point quitter, qu'a bonnes enseignes, & qu'il ne fussent entierement conuaincus, de la solidité de son appel. Si tost qu'ils sont arriués, ils la retirent du Monastere, & la tenans aupres d'eux, ils drescent deux bateries, capables de renuerfer toute autre vocation moins forte que la sienne. L'auouë qu'il est bon que les parens fondent les volontés de leurs enfans: car il ne faut pas croire à toutes fortes d'esprits: mais aussi faut-il [139] confesser que Dieu ne crie pas tousiours si haut, & qu'il ne se fait pas si fortement entendre, qu'on ne puisse diuertir l'oreille d'un enfant, & le retirer du lieu, où Nostre Seigneur luy destinoit les graces de son salut. Monsieur de la Troche qui connoissoit la trêpe de l'esprit de sa fille, qui en verité ne tenoit rien de la fille, l'attaque par un fort raisonnement, luy faisant voir les moyens de se fauver, sans se donner tant de peine, luy representât les dangers d'un long repêtir, quand on se voit liée & garrottée par une longue chaine de souffrances, que la vie religieuse traîne apres soy. Madame sa mere la baïsoit, la careffoit, luy offroit tout ce qui peut

might become an Ursuline Nun — without, however, telling them that she had already taken the first step. Let us see how that favor was granted her.”

OF HER NOVITIATE AND HER PROFESSION.

MONSIEUR and Madame de la Troche, seeing that their daughter was entering upon her fourteenth year, and that she was pressing them urgently to permit her to enter the Religious life, repaired to Tours for the purpose of testing her thoroughly; for, although they had offered her to God from the time she was in her cradle, in case he were pleased to accept her for his house, yet, in spite of that, the love which they bore her made them resolve not to give her up, except for good cause, and until they were fully convinced of the genuineness of her call. As soon as they arrived, they took her out of the Monastery and, keeping her with them, planted two batteries, capable of overthrowing any other calling less strong than hers. I admit that it is well for parents to sound their children's wishes, for one cannot rely upon every order of mind; but it must also [139] be admitted that God does not always call so loudly, and make himself so clearly heard, that the child's attention cannot be diverted, and the child itself withdrawn from the place where Our Lord destined for it the grace of his salvation. Monsieur de la Troche, knowing the temper and spirit of his daughter, who in truth had nothing of the girl about her, attacked her with strong arguments, showing her the means of gaining her salvation without giving herself so much trouble; and representing to her the dangers of a long repentance upon seeing herself bound and fettered by a long chain of sufferings

gagner le cœur d'une ieune Damoiselle de sa cōdition. Toutes ces offres ne la touchoient point; mais l'amour qu'elle sentoit pour une mere si aimable, luy dechiroit les entrailles, quand elle pensoit à la separation.

Mais comme elle estoit d'un naturel fort genereux, elle resista fortement aux tendresses de la nature, & Notre Seigneur luy mit pour lors en bouche, de si beaux passages de l'Escriture, & de si belles pensées des sain[t]s peres, touchant le bonheur de la vie Religieuse, elle les deduisoit [140] avec une telle fluidité & avec une telle eloquence, que ses parens, & plusieurs personnes de condition, qui l'ecoutoient; demeurans surpris, conclurent qu'il ne falloit pas resister davantage à l'esprit, qui rend diferte la langue des enfans.

On la fit donc rentrer au Couvent des Meres Vrfu-lines, où le Demon qui preuoioit la fainteté de ce braue fujet, luy liura une furieuse attaque. Il luy étalle dans un beau iour, toutes les raisons que Monsieur son pere luy auoit apportées pour la diuertir de son dessein: Il efface de sa memoire toutes les reparaties, que Dieu luy auoit fuggerez. Il reueille toutes les tendresses qu'elle auoit pour une mere, qui iamais ne se l'affoit de la voir, & de l'aimer, la secousse fut si grande, & les tenebres si epaisses, que sentant ses forces ebranlées, elle se ietta comme à corps perdu, entre les bras de la sainte Vierge, faisant toutes les deuotions qui luy venoient en l'esprit, pour gagner son cœur, & pour obtenir par son entremise, la deliurance de cette tentation. La pensée de quitter sa mere pour un iamais l'espouuantoit; mais enfin le desir d'estre à Dieu, & de fuiure les maximes de

which the religious life drags after it. Madame her mother kissed and caressed her, and offered her every endearment calculated to win the heart of a young Lady of her condition. All these offerings failed to touch her; but the love that she felt for so kind a mother rent her heartstrings when she thought of parting from her.

But as she had a very high-spirited disposition, she stoutly resisted her natural tenderness; and then Our Lord put into her mouth such beautiful passages of Scripture, and thoughts from the holy fathers, touching the blessedness of the Religious life, and she quoted them [140] with such fluency and eloquence, that her parents and several persons of quality who heard her were struck with surprise, and decided that no further resistance must be made to the spirit that makes eloquent the tongues of children.

Accordingly she was made to return to the Convent of the Ursuline Mothers, where the Evil One, foreseeing the sanctity of this valiant subject, made a furious attack upon her. He displayed to her in a clear light all the reasons that her father had adduced to divert her from her purpose, effacing from her memory all the rejoinders with which God had inspired her. He aroused all the tenderness felt by her for a mother who was never tired of seeing or of loving her. The shock was so great and the darkness so thick that, feeling her strength wavering, she flung herself, as if she were a lost creature, into the arms of the blessed Virgin, offering all the devotions of which she could think, in order to win her heart and obtain, by her mediation, deliverance from this temptation. The thought of leaving her mother forever frightened her; but at length the desire to

l'Euangile, [141] luy firent prendre resolution, en la presence de la sainte Vierge, de boire l'amertume du calice de son fils, & de persequer constamment dans sa maison, quand tous ces tourmens, la deuroient accompagner iusques à la mort.

Le iour qu'elle prit le saint habit de la Religion, luy fut encore vn iour de combat. On a coustume d'habiller les filles en ce dernier iour de leur siecle, conformément à l'estat qu'elles auroient tenu dans le monde. Nostre Nouice parut si ajustée, si modeste aux yeux de Madame sa mere, que s'approchant d'elle pour luy donner le dernier Adieu, elle la faisoit, l'embrassa, & la tint si long-temps colée sur son sein, que Monsieur de la Troche la voyant sans parole, & comme pâmée, luy arracha d'entre les bras, pour la conduire à la porte du Monast[e]re d'où elle estoit fortie. Cette separation tira quelques larmes des yeux de la fille, & laissa la mere dans vne profonde douleur. Si tost qu'elle fut entrée, on luy oste ses habits de parade, & on luy donne avec les ceremonies ordinaires, celui qu'elle auoit tant désiré. On luy fit aussi porter le nom de saint Bernard: nous dirons cy-apres comme [142] elle prit celui de saint Ioseph.

Nostre Seigneur la reuestit interieurement de l'onction & de la grace, signifiée par son voile, & par les autres appartenances de son habit. Vous eussiez dit qu'elle commençoit par où plusieurs acheuent. I'estois rauie d'estonnement, dit la Mere de l'Incarnation, de voir en vne fille de quatorze ans, non seulement la maturité de celles qui en ont plus de vingt-cinq, mais encore la vertu d'une Religieuse desja bien auancée. Rien de puerile ne paroissoit en sa jeunesse, elle gardoit ses Regles dans vne si grande

belong to God, and to follow the maxims of the Gospel, [141] made her resolve, in the presence of the blessed Virgin, to drink the bitterness of her son's cup, and to persevere constantly in his house, even though all these torments should accompany her until death.

“ The day on which she assumed the holy garb of Religion was another day of conflict for her. It is the custom to dress the girls, on this last day of their secular life, in a manner befitting the rank that they would have held in the world. Our Novice appeared, to the view of Madame her mother, so composed, so modest, that, when the latter approached her to give her the last Farewell, she seized and embraced her, and held her so long clasped to her bosom that Monsieur de la Troche, seeing her speechless and well-nigh in a swoon, snatched her from her mother's arms to conduct her to the door of the Monastery whence she had come. This separation drew some tears from the daughter's eyes, and left the mother in a deep melancholy. As soon as the former entered the Monastery, her parade dress was removed, and the one that she had so ardently desired was given her, with the customary ceremonies. She was also made to bear the name of saint Bernard; we shall relate hereafter how [142] she took that of saint Joseph.”

Our Lord invested her spiritually with the unction and the grace that were symbolized by her veil and the other appurtenances of her costume. You would have said that she was beginning where many leave off. “ I was delighted and astonished,” says Mother de l'Incarnation, “ to see in a girl of fourteen years not only the maturity of one over twenty-five, but also the virtue of a Nun already far advanced. Nothing puerile showed itself in her youth: she

exactitude, qu'on eut dit qu'elle estoit née pour ces actions. Et le haut sacrifice de l'entendement & de la volonté, qui fait fuer tant de personnes, luy estoit comme naturel. En vn mot, son esprit toujours esgalement ioyeux, la rendoit tres-aimable, & tres-agreable à toute la Communauté, & elle veilloit si soigneusement sur soy-mesme, qu'il ne falloit pas luy donner deux fois des aduis sur vne mesme chose, voire-mesme elle se tenoit pour auisée, & pour reprise des fautes qu'elle voyoit corriger en ses compagnes. Je ne diray rien de ses deuotions, notamment [143] de l'amour qu'elle auoit pour la sainte Vierge, nous en parlerons en son lieu, il suffit de rendre ce témoignage tres-authentique, & tres-veritable, que depuis son entrée au Nouitiat iusques à sa mort, elle s'est toujours efforcée de respondre fidelement à la grace de sa vocation.

Les deux ans de son Nouitiat sainctemēt escoulez, Messieurs ses parens luy vindrent liurer la derniere bataille: Mada. sa mere déplie le reste de sa rhétorique, elle met au iour toutes ses affections, tout son amour, & toutes ses tendresses, asseurant sa chere fille qu'elle la receura à bras ouuerts, si la vie d'une Religion assez penible luy est tant soit peu defagreable: elle proteste qu'elle ne peut, sans violence, se separer d'elle. Monsieur son pere luy represente, qu'il n'y a encore rien de fait, qu'elle est encore dans la plaine possession de sa liberté, qu'il ne faut que trois paroles pour l'enchaîner, en sorte qu'il n'y aura plus de remede à son repentir. Leur dessein n'estoit pas de resister à Dieu: mais de faire la guerre à vne vocation fondée sur le fable mouuant.

La liaison des cœurs ne se rompt bien souuent qu'a-

followed her Rules with so great exactness that one would have said she was born for these observances; and the high sacrifice of the understanding and will, which causes so many persons great exertions, seemed to come to her by nature. In a word, her disposition, which was ever invariably cheerful, made her very lovable and very welcome to all the Community; and she watched so carefully over herself that it was not necessary to admonish her twice in regard to the same thing; indeed, she even regarded herself as admonished and reprimanded for the faults that she saw corrected in her companions." I will say nothing of her devotions, especially [143] of the love that she had for the holy Virgin; we will speak of that in its place. It suffices to render this very authentic and truthful testimony, that, from her entrance upon her Novitiate until her death, she always endeavored to respond faithfully to the grace of her calling.

"When the two years of her Novitiate had been piously accomplished, her parents came to fight the last battle with her. Madame her mother brought to bear the rest of her rhetoric, and showed all her affection, all her love, and all her tenderness,—assuring her daughter that she would receive her with open arms, if the life of a Religious order that was far from easy was in the slightest degree distasteful to her; she protested that she could not, without violence, be separated from her. Monsieur her father represented to her that no decisive step had yet been taken, that she was still in full possession of her liberty; but that it needed only three words to bind her so that there would be no further remedy for her repentance. Their design was not to resist God, but to oppose a calling founded on shifting sand."

uec violence. Qui dit mere, [144] dit vne amante; & qui parle d'un enfant bien né, parle d'un cœur plein d'amour, & de respect. Nostre Nouice ne pouuoit quitter Dieu, ny ses parens: Elle eust desiré, ou que sa mere se fust faite Religieuse avec elle, ou que ses parens eussent conuertý leur maison en vn Monastere de son Ordre: car parler de separation, c'étoit parler de mort; elle eust mieux aimé mourir mille fois que de quitter le manche de la charruë, pour retourner en arriere: Et la pauvre nature souffroit en elle des conuulsions & des angoisses estranges à la pensée qu'elle s'alloit priuer pour le reste de ses iours, de l'aimable conuersation de sa bonne mere.

Celuy qui tient de ses doigts toute la nature suspenduë, qui sçait le nombre des estoilles, qui donne du poids aux vents, & des limites aux flots & aux tempestes de la mer, la guerit de cette tentation en vn moment. Il luy fit voir dans son sommeil, vne eschelle semblable à celle de Iacob: D'un bout elle touchoit les cieux, & de l'autre elle estoit appuyée sur la terre. Quantité de personnes montroient par cette eschelle, aidez de leurs bons Anges, qui effuyoient doucement la fueur [145] que le trauail & l'effort leur tiroit du front & de tout le visage. Elle en voyoit plusieurs qui tomboient à la renuerse dès le premier pas, ou dès le premier degré de l'eschelle: Les autres culbutoient du milieu, & vn petit nombre surmontant les difficultez d'un chemin si droict & si roide, arriuoient enfin au sommet, & remportoient la victoire. L'effet de cette veüe fit voir que ce n'estoit pas vn simple songe forgé dans la boutique de son imagination: mais vn remede à son mal, appliqué par les mains de son bon Ange. Il ne fallut point

The union of hearts is not very often broken without violence. He who utters the word "mother" [144] utters the name of one who loves; and he who speaks of a well-born child, speaks of a heart full of love and respect. Our Novice could forsake neither God nor her parents. She would have wished either that her mother might become a Nun with her, or that her parents might convert their house into a Monastery of her Order; for to speak of separation was to speak of death. She would rather have died a thousand times than quit the plow-handle and turn back; and poor nature suffered, in her, strange convulsions and anguish at the thought that she was about to deprive herself, for the rest of her days, of her good mother's delightful conversation.

He who holds all nature suspended in his hand, who knows the number of the stars, who gives force to the winds, and sets bounds to the floods and storms of the sea, cured her of this temptation in a moment. He caused her to see in her sleep a ladder like that of Jacob; with one end it touched the heavens, and with the other it rested on the earth. Many people were climbing this ladder, aided by their good Angels, who gently wiped away the sweat [145] which the toil and exertion called forth from their foreheads and their entire faces. Some of them she saw who fell backward at the first step, or at the first round of the ladder; others tumbled headlong from the middle; and a small number, surmounting the difficulties of a road so straight and so steep, arrived at last at the top, and gained the victory. The effect of this vision made it evident that it was not a simple dream forged in the workshop of her imagination, but a remedy for her ill, applied by the hands of her

chercher d'Oedipe pour l'explication de cet enigme, l'Esprit de Dieu en fut l'interprete; il cassa le noyau, & luy en fit gouster l'amande. Cet amour de l'enfant d'Adam, qui la tenoit attachée par des yeux, & par vn cœur de chair, se changea en vn instant en vn amour, qui ne destruit point la nature, mais qui la sanctifie; amour plus fort, mais plus libre; amour qui regarde non le temps, mais l'eternité. Sa fidelité à resister à cet amour estouffant; sa generosité à iamais ne le decouurir à ses parens, de peur qu'ils n'en prissent auantage, pour combattre sa vocation; sa resolution à souffrir le reste [146] de ses iours la tyrannie de cet amour, plustost que de lascher le pied, & fortir de son poste, luy meriterent cet amour sainct, cet amour dégagé, qui l'ayant deliurée de son esclavage, luy donna le moyen de presenter à Dieu, dans vne profonde paix, vn veritable sacrifice, ou plustost vn entier holocauste d'elle-mesme, s'vnissant estroitement à luy, en se separant de toutes les creatures par les vœux de sa profession, qu'elle fit à l'aage de seize ans. Et iamais depuis ce temps-là, l'amour de ses parens ne l'a embarrassée; & la crainte de s'en separer fut tellement bannie de son cœur, qu'elle s'en esloigna par apres de plus de mille lieues loing sans aucune peine.

Si tost que nostre ieune Professe fut enrollée en la milice de Iesus-Christ, on luy mit les armes en la main pour combattre ses ennemis, sçauoir est l'ignorance des petites filles qu'on luy donna à instruire, & les mauuaises inclinations de leur nature. Cet exercice qui est bas dans les ames mercenaires, l'esleuoit à la dignité des Anges gardiens. Son but estoit d'anter Iesus-Christ sur ces petits fauageons, de

good Angel. It needed no questioning of *Œdipus* for the explanation of this enigma; the Spirit of God was its interpreter. He cracked the stone, and made her taste its kernel. That love of the child of Adam which held her fettered by the eyes and heart of flesh, was changed in an instant to a love which does not destroy nature, but sanctifies it,—a love stronger, but freer; a love which regards not time, but eternity. Her fidelity in resisting that stifling love; her greatness of soul in never revealing it to her parents, for fear that they would take advantage of it to oppose her calling; her resolve to suffer, for the rest [146] of her days, the tyranny of that love, rather than take a backward step and desert her post,—won for her that holy and unfettered love which, after freeing her from her bondage, gave her the means to offer to God, in deep peace, a veritable sacrifice,—or, rather, an entire holocaust of herself; uniting herself closely to him in separating herself from all his creatures, by means of the vows of her profession, which she took at the age of sixteen. And never after that time did the love of her parents cause her trouble; and the fear of severing her connection with them was so banished from her heart that she afterward, without any difficulty, put more than a thousand leagues' distance between herself and them.

As soon as our young Professed nun was enrolled in the army of Jesus Christ, weapons were put into her hands to combat his enemies,—namely, the ignorance of the little girls given her to teach, and the evil tendencies of their nature. This pursuit—a low one, to mercenary souls—raised her to the dignity of the guardian Angels. Her aim was to engraft Jesus Christ upon these little wild stocks, to

leur faire connoître leurs passions, [147] & leurs mauuaifes pantes, & de leur fuggerer les moyens de les combattre. Si elle les instruïsoit dans la ciuilité, si elle leur enseignoit à lire ou à escrire, ou si elle leur faisoit apprendre quelque ouurage, c'estoit toujours par rapport à leur salut, leur inculquant doucement comme elles deuoient sanctifier ces occupations, & en tirer vn aide pour se sauuer. En vn mot, sa fin n'a esté quasi toute sa vie, que de faire connoître & aimer Dieu à ceux avec lesquels elle conuersoit.

Dans les occasions qui l'obligeoient de paroistre à la Grille, on remarquoit en son port & en son maintien (disent les Memoires que j'ay deuant les yeux) vne grauité & vne modestie toute extraordinaire: elle ne pouuoit souffrir d'autres entretiens que de la pieté, & si quelqu'un (par quelque épanchement trop libre) la vouloit ietter sur vn discours qui ressentist le monde, elle le ramenoit avec vne saine industrie; ou s'il estoit retif, elle se retiroit de la Grille, ou bien elle se donnoit la liberté de luy parler selon ses sentimens, sans aucun respect humain, disant qu'il ne falloit pas estre moins libre, & moins forte pour soutenir le bien, que quelques-uns [148] l'estoient pour le destruire. De là vient qu'assez souuent elle demandoit à sa Superieure dispense de voir les personnes dont elle croyoit que la conuersation se passeroit sans fruit.

COMME DIEU L'APPELLA, & LA FIT PASSER EN LA NOUUELLE FRANCE.

LA Mere de S. Ioseph auoit l'esprit vif, & net, & beaucoup éclairé. Sa conuersation estoit aymable, son industrie à gagner les cœurs de ceux qui tenoient le timon, estoit rauissante. Comme elle se

make them know their own passions [147] and their evil tendencies, and to suggest to them the means of combating these. If she instructed them in civility, if she taught them to read or write, or if she made them learn some work, she always made her instruction bear on their salvation, gently inculcating in them how they were to sanctify these occupations, and derive therefrom help for their salvation. In a word, her sole object, during almost all her life, was to cause God to be known and loved by those with whom she had intercourse.

“ On the occasions which obliged her to appear at the Grating ” (say the Memoirs which I have before me), “ there was observed in her bearing and demeanor a gravity and modesty that were quite extraordinary. Conversation that did not have to do with piety she could not endure; and if any one (by some digression of too great freedom) wished to draw her into talk which savored of the world, she would lead him back again with a holy dexterity; or if he were persistent, she would retire from the Grating or else would take the liberty to speak to him according to her feelings, without respect to human considerations, saying that one must not be less free and less bold in upholding the good than some [148] were in destroying it. Hence it was that she not infrequently asked her Superior to excuse her from seeing those whose conversation she believed would be fruitless.”

HOW GOD CALLED HER, AND MADE HER GO OVER TO
NEW FRANCE.

MOTHER de St. Joseph possessed an intelligence that was quick, clear, and highly enlightened. Her conversation was amiable, and her skill in win-

vit dans la fuite du temps, approuvée & soustenuë des premières colônes de sa maison, sa ieunesse qui auoit encore du feu dedans les veines, la porta à deux doigts d'un precipice, la mettant (dit mon papier) dans le danger de prendre un chemin qui luy auroit esté fort dommageable, & qui sous ombre d'un bien apparent, l'alloit ietter dans une vanité fort subtile. Estant donc sur le point de prendre cet effor, Nostre Seigneur luy fit voir ce que ie vay raconter. Elle se trouua dans le repos de la nuit, à l'entrée d'une grande place, enuironnée de boutiques [149] de tous costez: ces boutiques luy paroissent remplies de tous les objets, & de toutes les delices capables de toucher les yeux, de gagner les cœurs, & de charmer les esprits. Ces beautés mises en leur iour, brilloient avec un merueilleux éclat: si bien que tous ceux qui entroient dans cette place, en estoient incontinēt espris. Elle y vit entrer un Religieux de sa connoissance, qui fut incontinent enchanté aussi bien que les autres. Ce qui l'espouuenta plus fortement dans ce danger, fut, que ne pouvant retourner en arriere, elle se voyoit comme dans la contrainte de se ietter dans ce precipice. Mais au moment qu'elle se croyoit perduë, il parut une troupe ou une compagnie de ieunes gens, faits iustement comme les Sauvages de la nouvelle France, qu'elle n'auoit pas encore veus: L'un d'eux portoit un guidon escrit de certains mots d'une langue estrangere. Elle bien estonnée, entendit une voix qui prouenoit de ces gens oliuastres, & qui luy disoit: Ne craignez point, c'est par nous que vous ferez fauuee; & là dessus, se mettans en haye de part & d'autre, la firent passer au milieu d'eux, & au trauiers de cette place, sans qu'elle fust arrestée, [150]

ning the hearts of those at the helm was delightful. "Seeing herself, in course of time, approved and upheld by the chief pillars of her house, her youth, which still had some fire in its veins, brought her within two fingers of a precipice, by exposing her" (says my paper) "to the danger of taking a road which would have been very detrimental to her, and which, under the guise of an apparent good, was going to conduct her into very subtle vanity. Being, then, on the point of taking this flight, Our Lord made her see what I am about to relate. She found herself, in the quiet of night, at the entrance to a large square surrounded on all sides by shops. [149] These shops appeared to her filled with all the articles and all the delights calculated to attract the eyes, to win the heart, and to charm the mind. These beautiful things, advantageously displayed, shone with a marvelous brilliancy; so that all those who entered this square were immediately enamored of them. She saw enter there a Friar of her acquaintance, who was forthwith enchanted, as well as the others. What most frightened her in this danger was, that, not being able to retreat, she saw herself apparently forced to throw herself into this abyss. But, just as she thought herself lost, there appeared a troop or company of young people having exactly the appearance of the Savages of new France, whom she had not then seen. One of them bore a standard inscribed with certain words in a strange tongue. She, greatly astonished, heard a voice which came from these olive-colored people, and which said to her: 'Fear not; it is by us that you shall be saved.' And thereupon, drawing themselves up in line on both sides, they made her pass between them and

ny charmée par les beautez; en vn mot, ils la mirent en vn lieu d'affurance. Or il est aisé à voir par la fuite de sa vie, & par ce qui arriua à ce miserable Religieux, qui auoit pour lors la reputation de bien viure, & qui se fit apostat quelque temps apres; que cette veüe n'estoit pas vne chimere, mais vne verité. Il est vray qu'elle n'en eut pas si tost la cõnoissance, & qu'elle ne prenoit pas les Bienfacteurs pour des Sauuages: mais aussi faut-il confesser que l'affection qu'elle auoit toujours eüe pour le salut des ames, s'eschauffa tous les iours de plus en plus dedans son cœur depuis cette veüe, & que la lecture des Relations qu'on enuoyoit tous les ans de Canada, luy donnoit des desirs tres-ardens d'entreprendre des choses qu'elle tenoit pour chimeriques, ne croyant pas que iamais il se deust presenter aucun iour de les effectuer. Elle en parloit souuent à la Mere Marie de l'Incarnation, qui brûloit d'un mesme feu, qu'elles prenoient toutes deux pour vne folie, ne voyans pas de quel bois on le pourroit nourrir, & ne pouuans comprendre qu'on deust iamais enuoyer des personnes de leur sexe, & de leur condition, iusques au bout du monde.

[151] Enuiron ce temps-là, Madame de la Pelterie ayant leu dans les mesmes Relations, que l'on fouhaitoit en la nouuelle France que quelque Amazone entreprist vn voyage plus long que celui d'Ænée, afin de pouruoir à l'instruction des petites filles Sauuages, prit resolution de fonder vn Seminaire en ce pays de Croix, & d'y conduire elle-mesme des Religieuses Vrfulines pour le gouverner. En fuite de ce dessein, elle se transporta à Tours pour en obtenir quelques-vnes de Monseign. l'Archeuesque, & de la

across that square, without being arrested [150] or charmed by its beauties. In a word, they put her in a place of safety.' Now it is easy to see, from the sequel of her life and from what happened to that wretched Friar,—who had then the reputation of a high liver, and who apostatized, some time afterward,—that this vision was not a chimera but a reality. It is true, she did not at once know this, and she did not take her Benefactors for Savages; but it must also be owned that the fondness she had always had for the salvation of souls, increased in ardor every day in her heart after this vision; and that the reading of the Relations, which were sent every year from Canada, gave her most fervent desires to undertake things which she held as chimerical, not thinking the day was ever destined to come when she could realize them. She spoke about them often to Mother Marie de l'Incarnation, who burned with the same fire, which they both regarded as folly,—not seeing with what fuel it could be fed, and unable to conceive that persons of their sex and condition were destined ever to be sent even unto the ends of the world.

[151] About that time, Madame de la Pelterie—having read in the same Relations that it was desired in new France that some Amazon should undertake a voyage, longer than that of Æneas, in order to provide for the instruction of the little Savage girls—resolved to found a Seminary in that country of Crosses, and to conduct thither in person some Ursuline Nuns to govern it. In pursuance of this plan, she repaired to Tours, to obtain some from Monseigneur the Archbishop and from Mother Françoise de St. Bernard, Superior of their Convent. Mon-

Mere François de S. Bernard, Supérieure de leur Monastere. Monsieur l'Archevesque approuva cette entreprise, contre l'attente de ceux qui sçauoient combien il estoit naturellement aliéné de choses si nouvelles, & qui estoient sans exemples. Il commande à la Supérieure de donner à Madame de la Pelterie, la Mere Marie de l'Incarnation, qu'elle demandoit nommément, & de luy choisir vne compagne par l'aduis de quelques personnes qu'il luy nommoit. Toute la Maison des Vrfulines estoit en feu, il n'y en auoit pas vne qui ne souhaitât cette seconde place, exceptée nostre ieune Professe. Vous eussiez dit que le Demon [152] luy auoit donné vn coup de massuë sur la teste: elle estoit plus froide que la glace, elle paroissoit stupide, & interdite; & ce grand amour qu'elle auoit pour vn bien, dont la conqueste luy auoit paru si aduantageuse, mais impossible, se changea en vne grande auersion, quand elle se vit dans le pouuoir d'y pretendre. Et quoy qu'elle honorast Madame de la Pelterie, comme vne sainte, elle la regardoit neantmoins, & celle qu'on luy auoit accordée, comme des personnes perduës. C'est chose estrange, que les affaires de Dieu sont toujours accompagnées d'horreurs & de croix! Toutes ses lumieres estoient changées en des tenebres, ses affections en esloignemens, & son amour en haine. Il est vray que ce bruit & ce tintamarre n'étoit qu'en la cuisine, ou dans la basse-cour parmy les valets, ie veux dire au bas estage des passions: car elle auoit toujours vne secreete estime au plus profond de son cœur, & dans la plus haute portion de son esprit, pour vne vocation si releuée. C'est pourquoy s'estant ouuerte à sa chere compagne la Mere de l'Incarna-

sieur the Archbishop approved this enterprise, contrary to the expectation of those who knew how much he was naturally opposed to things so new and unprecedented. He ordered the Superior to give to Madame de la Pelterie Mother Marie de l'Incarnation, whom she asked for expressly, and to choose, by the advice of some persons whom he named, a companion for her. The whole House of the Ursulines was on fire, there being no one, except our young Professed Nun, who did not wish for this second place. You would have said that the Evil One [152] had given her a blow on the head with a cudgel. She was colder than ice; she seemed stunned and abashed; and that great love that she felt for a good whose realization had appeared to her so advantageous, but impossible, was changed into a great aversion when she saw herself empowered to claim it. And, although she honored Madame de la Pelterie as a saint, yet she regarded her, as well as the one who had been accorded her, as lost. It is a strange thing that the affairs of God are always attended with abhorrence and crosses. All her light was changed to darkness, her affections to estrangement, and her love to hate. It is true, this noise and din were only in the kitchen or in the courtyard among the servants,—I mean, in the lower story of the passions; for she always had, in the inmost depths of her heart, and in her soul's highest chambers, a secret esteem for a calling so exalted. Hence it was that, upon unbosoming herself to her dear companion, Mother de l'Incarnation, these phantoms vanished, the curtain was withdrawn, and the day appeared to her, more beautiful than ever. [153]

tion, ces fantômes s'euanouïrent, le rideau fut tiré, & le iour luy parut plus beau que iamais. [153] Elle se va ietter aux pieds de sa Superieure, pour entrer en partage de ce bonheur: mais elle n'eut pour responce qu'un commandemēt de prendre la chambre & l'Office de celle qui deuoit partir, & de demeurer en repos. Ceux qui connoissoient ses talens, & qui auoient de l'amour pour ce grand ouurage, creurent qu'il n'en falloit pas demeurer là, ils sollicitent la Mere de l'Incarnation de la demander pour compagne: la Superieure luy fit la fourdoreille. Là-dessus on se met en deuoir d'en choisir vne autre. On expose le sainct Sacrement, on fait les Prieres de quarante heures, afin que Dieu presidast à cette élection. Chose estrange! que dans un si grand nombre, ceux de qui dépendoit cette élection, ne pûrent rien conclure qu'en faueur de nostre Postulante; il y auoit dans toutes les autres ie ne sçay quoy, qui rompoit l'affaire. Elle s'en alla donc derechef trouuer la Mere Prieure; elle se iette par terre, & la conjure de luy estre fauorable en ce rencontre, si elle ne connoist que Dieu ne l'ait pas pour agreable. Sa Prieure demeura sans parole: L'amour luy donnoit de la crainte de perdre vne fille qu'elle auoit tendrement éleuée, [154] qui luy auoit donné tant de satisfaction, & qui promettoit beaucoup pour sa maison, ces demandes reiterés, & la peur de resister à Dieu, & de ne luy pas accorder ce qu'il desiroit, luy firent passer toute la nuit sans dormir; & dans ce silence, Nostre Seigneur l'occupa si fortement, & luy donna tant de connoissance sur la vocation de sa chere fille, qu'elle se rendit, pourueu neanmoins, que Messieurs ses parens y consentirent.

She hastened to throw herself at her Superior's feet, in order to obtain a share of this good fortune; but she received for answer only an order to take the chamber and assume the Duties of her who was to depart, and to remain in quiet. Those who knew her talents, and who had a love for this great work, believed that matters must not rest there; they urged Mother de l'Incarnation to ask for her as companion. The Superior lent her a deaf ear. Thereupon the task of choosing another was undertaken: the holy Sacrament was exposed, and forty hours of Prayer were observed, in order that God might preside at that election. Strangely enough, in so great a number, those with whom this choice rested could reach no conclusion except in favor of our Candidate; in the case of all the others, there was something or other that proved an objection. Accordingly, she went again to find the Mother Prioress, prostrated herself, and conjured her to be favorable to her in this emergency, unless she knew her to be unacceptable to God. Her Prioress remained speechless; love made her fear to lose a girl whom she had tenderly nurtured, [154] who had given her so much satisfaction, and who gave great promise for her house. These reiterated demands, and the fear of resisting God and not yielding him what he desired, made her pass the whole night without sleeping; and in this silence Our Lord took possession of her with such power, and gave her so much knowledge concerning the calling of her dear daughter, that she submitted, with the provision, however, that her parents should give their consent.

Forthwith a special courier was sent to ask their

Aussi tost on leur enuoie vn courier tout exprés, pour demander vn congé, dont on ne deuoit attendre qu'un refus. Cependant on continuë les prieres dans la maison, & nostre ieune Amazone, prend pour auocat dans sa cause le grand saint Ioseph, luy demandant, non l'entrée dans le Canadas, mais qu'il disposast les cœurs de ses parens, à fuire les mouuemens de l'esprit de Dieu, que si sa bonté luy ouuroit cette porte, elle luy faisoit vœu de prendre, & de porter son nom, & de marcher sous ses auspices, en ce bout du monde.

Le courier trouua Messieurs ses parens à Angers. Il leur presenta les lettres de leur chere fille. Monsieur de la Troche les [155] lisant demeura tout pâmé d'étonnement. Madame sa mere leuant la bonde à ses larmes; & abandonnant les rênes à sa douleur, remplit toute sa maison d'effroy, tout le monde accourt, chacune plaint, le mot de Canadas, leur donne à tous de l'épouuante. Madame de la Troche; ayant vn peu repris ses esprits, commande qu'on mette les chevaux au carosse pour aller promptemēt empêcher ce voyage. Aussi-tost dit, aussi-tost fait. Comme elle auoit desia vn pied dans le carosse, parut vn Pere Carme, qui ayant appris le sujet d'un voyage si soudain, luy dit, Madame ie vous arreste, permettez que ie vous die vn mot en vostre maison. Elle obeit, quoy qu'avec peine, ils s'en vont tous deux ensemble trouuer Monsieur de la Troche. Ce bon Religieux remply de Dieu, leur parla si hautement, & si efficacement de l'honneur, & de la grace, que leur faisoit Nostre Seigneur, d'appeller leur chere fille en vne si sainte Mission. Il leur fit voir par tant de raisons, & si preignantes, le dommage

permission, although only a refusal was expected from them. Meanwhile the prayers were continued in the house, and our young Amazon took as advocate in her cause the great saint Joseph, asking of him not admission to Canadas, but that he would incline her parents' hearts to follow the promptings of the spirit of God; and she made a vow to him that, if his goodness should open that door to her, she would take and bear his name, and proceed under his auspices, in that remote quarter of the world.

“ The courier found her parents at Angers, and presented them the letters regarding their dear daughter. Monsieur de la Troche, [155] on reading them, was completely overcome with astonishment. Madame her mother, opening the sluice-gates of her tears and giving free vent to her grief, filled her whole house with alarm: there were hurrying feet and lamentations on every hand, the name of Canadas inspiring all with terror. Madame de la Troche, regaining her spirits somewhat, ordered the horses put to the coach, in order to go at once and prevent this voyage. No sooner said than done. When she had one foot already in the coach, there appeared a certain Carmelite Father, who, upon learning the cause of so sudden a journey, said to her, ‘ Madame, I detain you; permit me to say a word to you in your house.’ She obeyed, although reluctantly, and they both went together to find Monsieur de la Troche. This good Religious, filled with the spirit of God, spoke to them so freely and so effectively of the honor and grace done them by Our Lord in calling their dear daughter on so holy a Mission; and he

qu'ils se causeroient deuant Dieu, & les tors qu'ils feroient à la fainteté de cette ame genereufe, s'ils empeſchoient le cours de fon voyage; qu'ils [156] n'eurent autre repartie, qu'un aquieſcement au plus haut de l'eſprit, aux ordres de celui qui en eſtoit le maître; s'abbaiſans, deuant luy, & adorans ſa conduite, quoy qu'ils la trouuaſſent bien amere. Ne voila pas des parens, dignes d'auoir eſté honorez d'une ſi fainte fille? Que diront deuant Dieu, les Communautés, à qui on ne demande pas des ſujets ſi eminens, voyans une maiſon, donner ce qu'elle à de plus cher, & des parens ſe prier de leur amour & de leur tendreſſe?

Madame de la Troche ayant fait ſon ſacrifice, ne demandoit plus que la ſatiſfaction d'aller embraffer encor une fois ſa chere fille; de luy pouuoir aller donner le dernier adieu: & de luy porter à meſme temps, le congé, & la benediſtion de Monſieur ſon pere, qui ſe trouuoit mal. Ce bon Religieux luy dit, avec une fainte franchiſe, non Madame vous n'irez pas: vos tendreſſes pourroient affoiblir en quelque façon, la generoſité de voſtre Amazone. Faites l'holocauste tout entier; il ſuffit que vous luy ecriuiez, ſelon les ſentimens que Dieu vous donne. Son conſeil fut ſuiuy. Monſieur & Madame de la Troche eſcriuirent deux lettres ſi [157] faintes, & ſi Chreſtiennes, qu'elles tiroient les larmes de tous ceux qui les liſoient.

Ces nouuelles eſtans arriuées, on fait porter à la Mere Marie de ſainct Bernard, le nom de Marie S. Ioseph, ſuiuant le vœu qu'elle en auoit fait, elle triomphe de ioye, ſe remettant en memoire la fuite de ſa vocation: elle adore avec amour, le procedé de

showed them, by so many and pregnant arguments, the harm they would cause before God, and the wrong they would do to the sanctity of that generous soul, if they took measures to prevent her journey, that they [156] had no other response to give than a hearty acquiescence in the orders of him who was master, abasing themselves before him and adoring his guidance, bitter indeed though they found it. Were they not parents worthy of being honored by so holy a daughter? What will be said before God by the Communities from which such eminent subjects are not demanded, when they see a house give the dearest that it has, and parents deprive themselves of the object of their love and tenderness?"

Madame de la Troche, having made her sacrifice, asked for nothing more than the satisfaction of going to embrace her dear daughter once more, of being able to bid her a final farewell, and at the same time to carry her the parting words and benediction of her father, who was ill. This good Religious, with a holy frankness, said to her: "No, Madame, you shall not go; your tenderness might weaken in some manner your Amazon's noble spirit. Offer the holocaust in all its entirety. It is sufficient for you to write to her according to the feelings that God gives you." His counsel was followed. Monsieur and Madame de la Troche wrote two letters, of such [157] piety and Christian spirit that they drew tears from all who read them.

This news having arrived, the name of Marie St. Joseph was given to Mother Marie de saint Bernard, in accordance with the vow which she had made in the matter. She was triumphant with joy, recalling

Dieu dans sa conduite: bref elle se dispose à ce grand voyage, de mille lieux en droite ligne, & de plus de trois mille dans les détours & dans les bolines qu'il faut faire.

Monsieur l'Archevesque ayant appris que le choix des deux Meres estoit fait, les fit venir en son Palais, ce saint vieillard leur donna sa benediction: il les porta à embrasser courageusement la Croix du fils de Dieu, se servant des memes paroles qu'il dit à ses Apostres, lors qu'il les enuoya en Mission, & leur ayant fait chanter le Pseaume. *In exitu Israel de Aegypto, &c.* Et le Cantique de la sainte Vierge. *Magnificat anima mea Dominum, &c.* Il les congédia avec estonnement, de voir la force & la constance de ces trois Amazones: car Madame leur fondatrice estoit de la partie.

[158] Ayant reçu sa benediction, & celle de Messieurs ses parens, il falut prendre congé de sa chere Mere Prieure, & de ses cheres sœurs. La plus part luy portoient enuie de son bien-heureux sort, quelques vnes trembloient, à la pensée des dangers, qu'elle pouuoit rencontrer sur la terre, & sur les eaux: quoy qu'il en soit, elle sortit de Tours avec sa chere compagne, le vingtiesme iour de Fevrier, de l'an mille six cents trente neuf. Elle n'auoit lors que vingt & deux ans & demy, & neantmoins dans tous les voyages qu'il fallut faire de Tours à Paris, de Paris à Diepe, & de Diepe en la nouvelle France; dans toutes les compagnies où elle se rencontra, en la Cour, dans les maisons particulieres, dans les Monasteres de Religieuses, elle a laissé par tout vne telle odeur de sa modestie & de sa vertu, que ie puis affeurer qu'elle dure encore à present en plusieurs

the whole course of her vocation, and worshipping with love God's operations in her guidance. In a word, she made ready for that long voyage of a thousand leagues in a straight line, and of more than three thousand in the detours and tacks that had to be made.

Monsieur the Archbishop, learning that the choice of the two Mothers was made, summoned them to his Palace, where this holy old man gave them his blessing. He urged them to embrace with courage the Cross of the son of God,—using the same words that our Lord uttered to his Apostles upon sending them on their Missions, and making them sing the Psalm, *In exitu Israel de Ægypto, etc.*, and the Song of the blessed Virgin, *Magnificat anima mea Dominum, etc.* He dismissed them, with astonishment at seeing the strength and constancy of those three Amazons, for Madame their foundress was of the party.

[158] After receiving his benediction and that of her parents, she had to take leave of her dear Mother Prioress and her dear sisters. The greater number envied her happy lot, although some trembled at the thought of the dangers she might encounter by land and sea. Be that as it may, she departed from Tours with her dear companion, on the twentieth day of February in the year sixteen hundred and thirty-nine. She was then only twenty-two and a half years old; and nevertheless, in all the journeys that had to be made,—from Tours to Paris, from Paris to Diepe, and from Diepe to new France,—and in all the company that she met,—at the Court, in private houses, or in the Monasteries of Nuns,—she left everywhere

endroits. Elle estoit agreable dans les dangers, elle en sçauoit diuertir la crainte par quelque petit mot, & porter le monde à la priere, qu'elle commençoit fort guayement la premiere. On ne remarquoit aucune ieunesse dans cette grande ieunesse, ce n'estoit que [159] maturité. Son assurance parut vn iour à la veüe de la mort qui se presenta, notamment vne fois, non pas armée d'une faux, mais vestuë d'une horrible glace, contre laquelle leur vaisseau s'alloit briser, si Dieu par vne espece de miracle ne les eust preferuez: sa fermeté donnoit de la couleur aux visages pâles, & affermissoit les cœurs tremblans de peur. En fin apres auoir essuyé les tempestes de l'Ocean; apres auoir soustenu le poids des vents & des flots; apres auoir franchy mille dangers, & enduré constamment les fatigues de la mer, Dieu la fit entrer la mesme année de son depart, au pays tant desiré, au pays de souffrance & de ioye, au pays des combats & des victoires, pour passer de là au séjour de la gloire d'un triomphe eternal. Difons maintenant deux mots de ses vertus, & des faueurs que son Espoux luy a departies en ce pays de benediction.

[160] DE SON AMOUR, & DE SON APPLICATION À IESUS-CHRIST, & À SES SOUFFRANCES.

LA Mere Marie de saint Ioseph a eu dès son enfance de grandes tendresses pour le Verbe incarné. Le R. P. Iean Bagot, Religieux bien connu dans nostre Compagnie, m'a dit, que s'estant rencontré en la maison de Monsieur son pere, au temps de sa premiere communion, il fut surpris, voyant les lumieres de cette enfant: sa confession si naïue & si iudicieuse pour son aage, l'estonna; & les tendresses

such an impression of her modesty and virtue, that I can affirm that it still continues at the present time in many places. She was welcome in times of danger; she could dispel fear by some little saying, and induce the company to join in prayer, which she herself, with much cheerfulness, was the first to begin. In her extreme youth, no youth was noticed, but only [159] maturity. Her self-reliance especially showed itself one day, at the prospect of death that presented itself,—not armed with a scythe, but clothed in frightful ice, against which their vessel would have been dashed to pieces, had not God preserved them by a kind of miracle. Her firmness brought color to their pale faces and strengthened the hearts that trembled with fear. At last, after weathering the Ocean storms,—after withstanding the violence of winds and waves, after passing through a thousand dangers, and bearing with constancy the fatigues of the sea,—she was by the will of God enabled, in the same year in which she started, to enter the land so ardently longed for, the land of conflicts and of victories, to pass thence to the glorious sojourn of an everlasting triumph. Let us say now a few words about her virtues, and the favors which her Bridegroom showed her in this land of benediction.

[160] OF HER LOVE AND HER DEVOTION TO JESUS
CHRIST AND HIS SUFFERINGS.

MOTHER Marie de saint Joseph had from her childhood a great tenderness for the incarnate Word. The Reverend Father Jean Bagot, a Religious well known in our Society,⁴ told me that, happening to be at her father's house at the time of her

qu'elle auoit pour Nostre Seigneur en cette communion, le rault. Je ne luy parlois iamais du Fils de Dieu dans le peu de sejour que ie fis aupres de Messieurs ses parens, adjousté le Pere, que ie ne viffe ses petites ioïes toutes trempées de ses larmes: ses yeux tout baignez, estoient si fortemēt colez sur moy, que ie ne pû me tenir, voyât cette sainte auidité, & ce grãd amour pour son Sauueur, dans vne si tendre ieunesse, de dire à Mada. sa mere que cette enfant mōteroit quelque iour bien haut: *Quia virtus Domini erat cum illa.*

Toutes les lumieres, toutes les connoissances, [161] tous les amours, & tous les sentimens qu'elle a eu de ce diuin Espoux en l'ancienne France, n'estoient que les preludes & les essais de ce qu'elle deuoit receuoir en la nouuelle. Estant vn matin en oraïson, quelques fix ans deuant sa mort son ame luy parut sous la figure d'un chasteau rauissant, & à mesme temps cet Espoux, le Fils du Tout-puissant se presentant à la porte, se fit voir à son esprit par vne communication purement intellectuelle, où le Demon n'a point de part, pour estre indépendante de tous les sens. Il estoit si éclatant, & si plein de gloire, & si rauissant en beauté: (dit la personne de qui j'ay receu les memoires) Il luy tendoit les bras, & luy iettoit des regards si amoureux, qu'elle fut morte de ioye & d'amour s'il ne l'eust soustenuë. Enfin il luy dit, en la retenant entre ses bras, & prenant vne entiere possession de son ame: Ma fille, aye soin du dehors du chasteau, & ie conferueray le dedans. Comme il vint à se retirer, elle le voulut suiure: mais vn crespé ou vn voile se mettant entre-deux, elle entendit bien qu'il falloit reprendre le chemin de la foy, & ne

first communion, he was surprised to see the intelligence of that child: her confession, so artless and so judicious for her age, astonished him, and the tender devotion displayed by her for Our Lord in that communion charmed him. "I never spoke to her," added the Father, "about the Son of God, in the brief stay that I made with her parents, without seeing her little cheeks all wet with tears; her eyes, full to overflowing, were so intently fixed upon me that, upon witnessing this holy eagerness and great love for her Savior at so tender an age, I could not refrain from saying to her mother that that child would some day attain a great height, *Quia virtus Domini erat cum illa.*"

All the light, all the knowledge, [161] all the love, and all the feeling that she had for that divine Bridegroom in old France, were merely the preludes and first essays of what she was to receive in the new. One morning, some six years before her death, as she was at prayer, her soul appeared to her under the form of a charming castle; and at the same time this Bridegroom, the Son of the Almighty, presenting himself at the door, made himself apparent to her spirit by a purely intellectual communication, wherein the Evil One had no part, since it was independent of all the senses. "He was so bright and full of glory, and of such ravishing beauty" (says the one from whom I received the memoirs), "he held out his arms and threw her such fond glances, that she would have died of joy and love if he had not sustained her. At length, holding her in his arms and taking full possession of her soul, he said to her: 'My daughter, take care of the outside of the castle, and I will guard the interior.' As he

iouyr de ces lumieres qu'en passant, comme on voit briller les esclairs.

[162] Elle fut neantmoins enuiron vne sepmaine en extase, sans toutefois perdre les sens; & son Bien-aimé l'instruisit dans cette apparition de tous les mysteres de son adorable humanité: Il la reuestit de son Esprit, & la changea entierement en vne nouvelle creature. Depuis ce temps-là, son cœur n'estoit plus à elle, & on ne pouoit parler de Iesus-Christ en sa presence, sans que son ame se fondist, & se liquesfiast en amour: Elle en parloit quelquefois si hautement, qu'on voyoit bien d'où procedoient ses connoissances.

Nostre Seigneur luy tenoit souuent vn langage fort interieur. Chantant vn iour le *Credo* à la sainte Messe, elle entra dans vne complaisance amoureuse en prononçant ces paroles, *Per quem omnia facta sūt*, se resiouyssant en son cœur, de ce que toutes choses auoient esté faites par son Espoux. Et comme cette ioye & cette complaisance la faisoient quasi defaillir, il luy dit: Oüy, ma fille, toutes choses ont esté faites par moy, mais ie feray refait en toy. Elle pensa s'aneantir entendant ces paroles, qui ne signifioient autre chose, qu'une sainte transformation en celuy, dans lequel elle viuoit plus qu'en elle-mesme.

[163] Je ne scaurois rapporter tous les effets que ces communications diuines operoient dans son ame; ce n'estoient qu'actions de graces, que loüanges, que benedictions: Elle estoit dans de continuelles reconnoissances d'estre venuë au monde sous la loy de grace, pour auoir le moyen de posseder pleinement Iesus-Christ. Elle portoit grande compassion aux ames qui ignoroient ce grand thresor, & scauoit

was about to withdraw, she wished to follow him; but a piece of crape, or a veil, intervening between them, she understood clearly that she must resume the path of faith, and enjoy this light only in passing, as one sees the lightning flash."

[162] Nevertheless, for about a week she was in ecstasy, without, however, losing her senses; and in this apparition her Well-beloved instructed her in all the mysteries of his adorable humanity, clothing her with his Spirit and changing her entirely into a new creature. From that time, her heart was no longer her own; and one could not speak of Jesus Christ in her presence without causing her soul to soften and melt with love. She spoke of him sometimes in such exalted language that it was clearly seen whence came her knowledge.

Our Lord often talked with her, in language heard only by the inner ear. Singing the *Credo* one day at holy Mass, she lapsed into a state of amorous delight on uttering these words, *Per quem omnia facta sunt*, rejoicing in her heart that all things had been made by her Bridegroom. And, when that joy and that delight made her almost swoon away, he said to her: "Yes, my daughter, all things were made by me, but I am recreated in thee." She thought she would expire upon hearing these words, which signified nothing less than a holy transformation in him in whom she lived more than in herself.

[163] I cannot relate all the effects that these divine communications wrought in her soul; they were a veritable series of thanksgivings, praises, and blessings. She enjoyed a continual consciousness of having come into the world under the law of grace, in order to have the means of possessing Jesus

mauvais gré à celles, qui en ayant connoissance, ne le possédoient pas.

La veüe des beautez de son Bien-aimé, luy fit voir si à découuert la bassesse & la laideur des creatures, en vn mot, le neant de toute chose, que quelques personnes la tenoient incapable long-temps deuant sa mort, de vaine gloire, & de tout autre amour, que celui qui tend à Dieu. En effet, les yeux bien purifiez qui voyent les choses dans la verité, ne sont pas beaucoup touchez du menfonge.

Il me vient en pensée que quelques-vnes de ses sœurs lisant ce petit abrégé de sa vie, pourroient bien souhaiter les mesmes douceurs, & les mesmes familiaritez avec leur Sauueur. Il faut confesser [164] que ce sucre est doux, & que cette ambrosie est pleine de delices: mais elles me permettront de leur dire, que ces grandes consolations passageres ne se communiquent ordinairement qu'aux ames que Iesus-Christ met en croix avec luy: ce n'est qu'un alimēt & un soustien qu'il leur donne, pour porter le fardeau de ses souffrances. Nous le verrons dans ce qui suit.

Comme Nostre Seigneur luy parloit souuent, il luy dit quatre ans & demy deuant son trespas, qu'elle ne viuroit plus de là en auant que de foy, & de croix. Ces paroles veritablement substantielles, eurent leur effet: Elle n'aymoit plus rien que les souffrances, & son Espoux luy en donnoit abondamment. Elle portoit sans cesse un estat de peines interieures si cachées, si penetrantes & si viues, que peu de personnes les pouuoient comprendre. Elle souffroit en son corps des douleurs & des foibleffes quasi continuelles: si bien que les paroles de saint Paul, Je

Christ to the full. She felt great pity for souls that had no knowledge of this great treasure, and was displeased with those that had knowledge of it, but did not possess it.

The sight of the charms of her Well-beloved made her see so plainly the baseness and ugliness of created beings—in a word, the nothingness of everything—that, long before her death, she was regarded by some as incapable of vainglory, or of any other love than that which is directed toward God. Indeed, the vision that has been made clear, and sees things as they are, is not greatly touched by what is false.

It occurs to me that some of her sisters, upon reading this little summary of her life, may well desire the same delights and the same intimacy with their Savior. It must be confessed [164] that that sugar is sweet and that ambrosia is full of delight; but they will permit me to say to them that those great and transient consolations are ordinarily communicated only to the souls that Jesus Christ causes to suffer with him. It is merely a nutriment and support which he gives them to enable them to bear the burden of his sufferings, as we shall see in what follows.

As Our Lord often spoke to her, he told her, four years and a half before her death, that she would thenceforth live only by faith and crosses. These words, weighty indeed, had their effect. Thenceforward she cared only for sufferings, and her Bridegroom gave her an abundance of them. She was constantly subjected to a state of spiritual suffering so hidden, so piercing, and so acute, that few persons were able to understand them. In her body

fuis attaché en croix avec Iefus-Christ, fe trouuoient fort veritables en cette victime de l'amour souffrant. Souuent cet Amant des ames souffrantes la chargeoit du poids [165] de fa Iustice, de sa Sainteté, & de ses autres attributs, par des impressions si pesantes, que sa vie n'estoit plus qu'un martyre. Estant certain iour dans les langueurs, elle dit ces paroles à sa compagne: Si l'on me demandoit qui me fait souffrir, ie ne pourrois respondre autre chose, sinon que c'est le Verbe Incarné, que c'est celui que j'ayme, qui me tourmente d'une façon inexplicable. Quelquefois elle auoit des oppressions de cœur si grandes, & des impressions des souffrances de Iefus-Christ si viues, qu'il luy sembloit souffrir une mort plus dure que la mort mesme. Les desirs de mourir, pour iouyr de celui qu'elle auoit veu si beau & si rauissant, allumoient en son ame un feu si cuisant, & si douloureux, qu'elle ne le pouuoit esteindre que par une autre douleur: Elle appaisoit l'amour de la ioye par l'amour des souffrances. Ce langage n'est pas estranger à ceux qui ayment, & qui sçauent que pour estre hautement semblable à Iefus-Christ dedans sa gloire, il faut luy estre conforme, comme parle S. Paul, dans ses souffrances.

L'Espouse des Cantiques va chercher son Espoux, quand il est absent. L'ame [166] que Dieu occupe en l'oraison, demeure en repos: mais s'il se cache, elle eleue son esprit, fait marcher ses affections, pour chercher, & pour trouuer son bien-aimé! Nostre Canadienne fuiuoit cette maxime dedans ses Croix, quand son Epoux luy en donnoit, elle les portoit avec une paix, & une soumission à ses ordres, & à sa conduite toute rauissante: elle prenoit ce faisceau de

she suffered almost continual pains and weaknesses, so that the words of saint Paul, "I am crucified with Jesus Christ," were found to be very true in the case of this victim of suffering love. Often that Lover of suffering souls burdened her with the weight [165] of his Justice, of his Holiness, and of his other attributes, with loads of such heaviness that her life ceased to be anything but a martyrdom. One day, when she was overcome with weakness, she said to her companion these words: "If I were asked the cause of my suffering, I could only answer that it is the Incarnate Word, the one whom I love, who torments me in an inexplicable manner." Sometimes she had such great heaviness of heart and such vivid impressions of the sufferings of Jesus Christ, that she seemed to suffer a death that was harder than death itself. Her longing to die, in order to enjoy him whom she had seen in such ravishing beauty, kindled in her soul a fire so scorching and so painful, that she could only quench it by another pain. She appeased her love of joy by her love of suffering. This language is not strange to those who love, and who know that, in order to be in a high degree like Jesus Christ in his glory, one must, as St. Paul says, be conformed to him in his sufferings.

The Bride of the Canticles goes to seek her Bridegroom when he is absent. The soul [166] that God engages in prayer remains at rest; but, if he hide himself, it arouses its spirit and sends forth its affections to seek and to find its well-beloved. Our Canadian followed this maxim in her Crosses. When her Bridegroom gave her any, she bore them with a peace, and submission to his orders and guidance, that were altogether charming: she took that vessel

myrrhe & le cachoit dans son sein avec amour, & quand il la priuoit de cette faueur, elle se faisoit elle mesme des Croix elle cherchoit des mortifications, qui l'auroient bien-tost enleuée, de ce monde, si ses Superieurs n'eussent donné des bornes & des limites à sa ferueur.

Comme elle connoissoit la malice, & la finesse de la fille d'Adam, ie veux dire de la nature corrompue, elle auoit vne merueilleuse adresse, non seulement pour la tuer, mais encor pour empescher, que la Charité de ses sœurs, ne luy donnassent quelque soulagement. C'estoit la quereller que de luy dire, que ses infirmités la dispensoient de suiure la Communauté, & on luy formoit vn procès, quand on la pressoit de prendre quelque soulagement dans ses foiblesses, si elles n'estoient [167] extremes. Ses resistances ne procedoient pas, d'un petit compliment, formé du bout des levres: mais d'une veüe de sa bassesse, se croyant estre à charge à sa Communauté: elle cedit d'ailleurs facilement, & se soumettoit, aisement, à ceux qui la gouuernoient, quand ils n'écoutoient pas ses raisons; ce qui arriuoit peu souuent, car elle estoit fort eloquente, lors qu'elle plaidoit la cause des souffrances de Iesus-Christ, contre les delicateesses du vieil Adam.

DE SA DEUOTION ENVERS LA SAINCTE VIERGE &
ENVERS SAINCT IOSEPH.

IL est bien difficile d'aimer Iesus, sans aymer Marie, & d'honorer Marie, sans respecter saint Ioseph. Je puis dire avec verité, que cette sainte famille, à esté la premiere, la plus noble, & la plus continuelle occupation de la Mere Marie de saint Ioseph, dans

of myrrh and hid it in her bosom with love; and when he denied her this favor, she made Crosses for herself, and sought for self-inflictions that would very soon have borne her away from this world, had not her Superiors set bounds and limits to her fervor.

Knowing, as she did, the malice and cunning of the daughter of Adam — I mean, of corrupt nature — she had a marvelous adroitness not only in killing it, but also in preventing her sisters' Charity from affording her any relief. It gave her offense to tell her that her infirmities exempted her from observing the rules of the Community; and a formal contest ensued when she was urged to take some rest in her weakness, unless the latter were [167] extreme. Her resistance did not consist in a little compliment formed merely by her lips; but was based on a perception of her lowliness, and a belief that she was a burden to her Community. In other matters she yielded easily and submitted readily to those who governed her, when they did not listen to her arguments—a thing which happened very seldom; for her eloquence was great when she pleaded the cause of Jesus Christ's sufferings against the effeminacy of the old Adam.

OF HER DEVOTION TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN AND TO
SAINT JOSEPH.

IT is very difficult to love Jesus without loving Mary, or to honor Mary without respecting saint Joseph. I can say with truth that that holy family gave the first, the noblest, and the most constant occupation to Mother Marie de saint Joseph, during all the years of her earthly pilgrimage. Jesus Christ

toutes les années de son pelerinage sur la terre. Iesus-Christ la tirée a foy, la Vierge la receut, & elle a recherché saint Ioseph, elle est née dans la deuotion envers la sainte Vierge; c'est le premier lait qu'elle a succe: sa bonne [168] mere la dédia & la consacra des le berceau à cette Reine des Anges; & luy fit passer sa premiere enfance dans cette pieté. Nous auons desia dit que le nom de Marie luy fut donné dans cette veue, & que ce nom luy estoit vn sucre en la bouche, autant de fois qu'elle le prononçoit; & que ses oreilles, & son cœur, sentoient toujours vn nouveau plaisir, quand on l'appelloit du beau nom de Marie, cette ioye prouenoit de l'amour, qu'elle portoit à cette Reine des Anges, & on peut dire, que cet amour, estoit vn amour de ialousie: car elle ne pouuoit supporter; qu'on n'eut pas vn grand recours, & vne grande confiance en celle, dont elle experimentoit si souuent les bontés, elle luy attribuoit son education sainte en sa petite ieunesse: ses desirs d'estre à Dieu, & d'y porter les autres. Sa vocation en vn ordre qui trauaille au salut des ames: l'amour de son cher fils; la deliurance de ses peines, & de ses tentations: en vn mot, toutes les graces, & les faueurs, qu'elle receuoit de la bonté de son cher enfant: elle a dit souuentefois, que depuis sa naissance, iusques à l'âge de vingt-ans, tous les iours, toutes les sepmaines, & tous les mois de sa [169] vie, luy auoient esté consacrés d'une façon toute particuliere elle fut deliurée de cet amour bas, & empressé, qu'elle portoit à Messieurs ses parens, par l'amour, & par la confiance qu'elle auoit en la sainte Vierge. l'Amour saint & dégagé qu'elle leur porta depuis, n'estoit qu'un rapport de l'amour, que cette Princeesse

drew her to himself, the Virgin received her, and she sought saint Joseph. She was born with a spirit of devotion toward the blessed Virgin; that was the first milk which she imbibed. Her good [168] mother dedicated and consecrated her from her cradle to that Queen of the Angels, and made her pass her first infancy in that piety. We have said that the name Marie was given her with this intent, that it was as sugar to her mouth, whenever she pronounced it, and that her ears and her heart always felt a new pleasure when she was called by the beautiful name Marie. This joy arose from the love that she bore that Queen of the Angels, and it may be said this love was a jealous love; for she could not bear that others should not have frequent recourse to, and great confidence in, her whose goodness she so often experienced. To her she attributed her pious education in her early youth, her desires to belong to God and draw others to him, her calling in an order laboring for the salvation of souls, the love of her dear son, her deliverance from her difficulties and temptations,—in a word, all the graces and favors that she received from the goodness of her dear child. She often said that, from her birth up to the age of twenty years, every day, every week, and every month of her [169] life had been consecrated to her in a very special manner. By the love and confidence which she had in the blessed Virgin, she was delivered from that low and selfish love that she bore her parents. The hallowed and unfettered Love that she had for them afterward was only an imitation of the love which that Princess cherished for her sovereign lord. If she obeyed her Rules, it was in a union of the obedience which that amiable Mother

portoit à son souverain seigneur. Si elle obeissoit à ses Regles, c'estoit dans l'union de l'obeissance, que cette aimable Mere rendoit à son fils, & à son cher Espoux: si elle avoit quelque petit temps à soy, il estoit aussi-tost consacré à la sainte Vierge, elle estoit toujours, les premières années qu'elle fut en la maison de Dieu dans les recherches de nouvelles inventions pour l'honorer; tantost par des Pseaumes: tantost par des Hymnes, & puis par des loüanges, & par des vœux, qui ne finissoient jamais. Souvent elle recitoit avec l'Ange, mille fois le premier salut, qu'il luy a fait. Si quelquefois elle tomboit dans quelque imperfection, elle s'en alloit amoureuxment flatter sa bonne Mere, la conjurant de couvrir cette faute, de la beauté de ses vertus, afin que les yeux de son fils n'en fussent point blecés, & que [170] le tort qu'elle luy faisoit par son offence, fut réparé, par sa tres-aimable fidelité: & la dessus, repandant son cœur à ses pieds, elle luy promettoit d'estre vne autrefois plus fidele, & de faire telles mortifications, ou de reciter telles deuotions en son honneur: elle entroit dans ses ioyes, & dans ses tristesses: elle la servoit dans ses voyages, en un mot, ce n'estoit que confiance, & qu'amour, pour sa tres-honorée Dame & Maistresse.

Elle ne sentoit pas cette douceur envers saint Ioseph: elle en eut quasi volontiers, intenté un procès à la sainte Vierge; luy reprochant, qu'elle ne luy donnoit aucun accez, auprès de son cher Epoux. Elle la pressoit, & la conjuroit d'avoir pitié d'elle, & de luy accorder cette grace: de la presenter à cet aimable Espoux. Je crains, disoit elle, que cette insensibilité, ne soit vne marque de ma reprobation.

rendered to her son, and that which she herself rendered to her dear Bridegroom. If she had some little time to herself, it was immediately consecrated to the blessed Virgin; and, during the first years that she was in the house of God, she was always searching for new devices by which to honor her—now by Psalms, now by Hymns, and again by praises and by vows that never ended. She often recited a thousand times, the first Angelical salutation. If at any time she lapsed into some imperfection, she went, full of love, to caress her good Mother, conjuring her to cover up that fault with the beauty of her virtues, in order that her son's eyes might not be wounded by it, and that [170] the wrong she had done him by her offense might be repaired by her very lovable fidelity; and thereupon, pouring out her heart at her feet, she promised her to be more faithful another time, and to perform such and such mortifications, or to recite such and such devotions in her honor. She entered into her joys and into her sorrows; she served her on her journeys; in a word, she was all confidence and love for her much honored Lady and Mistress.

She did not feel that tenderness toward saint Joseph, and would have been almost willing to bring suit in the matter against the blessed Virgin, reproaching her for not giving her any access to her dear Spouse. She urged and conjured her to take pity on her and grant her that favor,—to present her to that lovable Spouse. “I fear,” she would say, “that this insensibility is a mark of my reprobate condition.” When she was at Tours, and had withdrawn into solitude, she went to find her Superior, in the middle of her retreat,—weeping like a child, because

Estant à Tours retirée en folitude, elle s'en alla trouver sa Supérieure au milieu de sa retraite, pleurant comme un enfant, de ce qu'elle n'auoit aucune deuotion enuers saint Ioseph, cela la faisoit trembler. Sa Prieure luy dit en se fouriant, que ses larmes, & ses angoisses, estoient une marque [171] de cette deuotion. Mais cela ne la consoloit point, pour ce qu'elle ne ressentoit pas, la protection de ce grand Patriarche, comme elle experimentoit celle de sa chere Espouse.

Au temps de ses plus grandes angoisses, la Supérieure des Vrfulines de Loudun s'en allant au tombeau du B. Monsieur de Sales, passa par Tours, & logea dans le Monastere de nostre Canadienne: Toutes les Religieuses, & elle à son tour, baiferent le sacré baume, dont saint Ioseph s'estoit seruy pour guerir cette bonne Mere, & la tirer de l'agonie. Il n'y en eut pas une qui ne sentit une odeur, & un effect de ce baume, qui ne venoit point de la terre, excepté nostre Canadienne, laquelle fut priuée de cette grace; l'odeur de ce baume ne toucha ny ses narines, ny ne produisit aucun mouuement en son cœur. Dieu sçait de quelle douleur fut faisie sa pauvre ame! C'est bien pour lors qu'elle creut, que celui dont elle recherchoit si saintement l'amitié, l'auoit rebutée. Si Dieu prend ses delices avec les hommes, les Saints n'en font pas moins. Ce grand Patriarche prenoit plaisir de voir cette ame innocente courre apres ce qu'elle [172] possédoit desia d'une façon plus noble, que celle que son ardeur pretendoit. En fin il la voulut consoler.

Cette bonne Mere de Loudun retournant de son voyage, & passant une autre fois par Tours, entra

she felt no devotion toward saint Joseph; that made her tremble. Her Prioress told her, with a smile, that her tears and anguish were a mark [171] of that devotion. But this did not comfort her, because she did not feel the protection of that great Patriarch as she did that of his dear Spouse.

At the time of her greatest anguish, the Superior of the Ursulines of Loudun, on her way to the grave of the Blessed Monsieur de Sales, passed through Tours and lodged at the Monastery of our Canadian. All the Nuns, and she in her turn, kissed the sacred balm which saint Joseph used in curing that good Mother and bringing her out of her agony. There was not one of them that did not experience an odor and an influence from this balm, which was not of earthly origin,—except our Canadian, who was denied that grace; the odor of this balm neither touched her nostrils, nor produced any emotion in her heart. God knows with what grief her poor soul was seized. Then indeed it was that she believed that he whose friendship she sought so piously had repulsed her. If God takes his delight in men, the Saints do so no less. This great Patriarch took pleasure in seeing that innocent soul run after what she [172] already possessed in a nobler manner than her ardor laid claim to. At length, it was his will to comfort her.

That good Mother of Loudun, returning from her journey and passing again through Tours, entered the same Monastery, and gave a second opportunity to kiss the holy balm, which she always carried with her. Mother Marie de St. Joseph trembled upon approaching it, fearing a second rebuff; she pre-

dans le mesme Monastere, & donna à baïser pour la seconde fois le saint baume, qu'elle portoit toujours avec elle. La Mere Marie de S. Ioseph trembloit en s'en approchant, elle craignoit vn second rebut, elle se presente à genoux avec vn esprit humilié, remply neantmoins de confiance, que la tres-sainte Vierge, sa bonne mere, la donneroit pour ce coup a son Espoux. Son attente ne fut pas vaine; elle n'eut pas si tost touché cette onction, que non seulement elle en sentit l'odeur, mais elle en fut penetrée iusques au fonds de l'ame, avec l'effect de la grace qu'elle auoit tant demandée. Le transport d'esprit qu'elle eut pour lors, fut si sensible, que la Mere de Loudun s'en apperceuant, luy dit en souriant, Voicy vn cœur puissamment pressé de Dieu. Elle toute transportée, se retira doucement, & s'alla ietter dans vne grotte de saint Ioseph, qui est dans le Monastere, où elle se tint enfermée enuiron [173] deux heures, & dans ce temps-là Nostre Seigneur luy donna saint Ioseph pour son Pere & pour son Protecteur, luy faisant entendre qu'elle estoit maintenant fille de la Vierge, & de saint Ioseph.

Cette operation toute diuine, & ces caresses si amoureuses l'aneantissoient, & la faisoient fondre en larmes d'amour & de ioye: elle sentoit dans le fonds de son ame les effects puissans de cette grace, qui l'affeueroient de cette filiation, en forte qu'elle n'en a iamais pû douter le reste de ses iours, experimentant dans la fuite de sa vie, les secours d'un Pere si puissant, & si aymable: elle en prit le nom, comme nous auons remarqué, lors qu'il luy fit donner son passeport pour aller en son pays, ie veux dire en la nouvelle France, qu'on peut appeller le pays de S.

sented herself on her knees, with a spirit that was humbled, but yet full of confidence that the most blessed Virgin, her good mother, would this time give her to her Spouse. Her expectation was not in vain: she had no sooner touched that ointment than she not only perceived its odor, but was also penetrated thereby to her inmost soul, receiving the grace which she had so earnestly entreated. The spiritual transports which she then experienced were so keenly felt that the Mother of Loudun, perceiving it, said to her with a smile, "Here is a heart powerfully acted upon by God." She, in a perfect transport, softly retired, and hastened to a grotto of saint Joseph, which is in the Monastery, where she kept herself shut in for about [173] two hours; and, during that time, Our Lord gave her saint Joseph as her Father and Protector, making her understand that she was now the daughter of the Virgin and of saint Joseph.

This process, wholly divine in its nature, and these caresses, so full of love, overpowered her and made her burst into tears of love and joy. In her inmost soul she felt the powerful effects of that grace, assuring her of this filiation, so that she could never doubt it for the rest of her days, experiencing in the subsequent course of her life the aid of so powerful and so kind a Father. She took his name, as we have noted, when he caused her passport to be given her for going to his country—I mean, to new France, which may be called the country of St. Joseph, inasmuch as those vast regions march under his standards, and honor him as their Father and their Patron. He led her into that glorious land, into that King-

Ioseph, puis que ces grandes contrées marchent sous ses estendars, & l'honorent comme leur Pere & leur Patron. Il la conduisit dans cette glorieuse region, dans ce Royaume des souffrances, pour estre l'une des pierres fondamentales d'un Seminaire & d'un Monastere erigé sous le nom de saint Ioseph.

[174] DE QUELQUES-VNES DE SES VERTUS.

LES grandes lumieres, & les hautes contemplations, qui n'engendrent point la vertu, sont semblables à ces fleurs qui ne portent aucun fruit: l'arbre en est beau, mais il n'est pas utile. Il se trouve assez de personnes qui parlent de la vertu, ou qui se plaisent d'en ouïr parler, qui l'approuvent, & qui l'honorent: mais le nombre de ceux qui la pratiquent solidement, est bien petit. Nostre Canadienne en faisoit son principal; elle croyoit que toutes les veües qui ne tendoient pas là, s'écartoient du vray chemin; & que tous les brillans qui ne representoient pas la vertu, n'estoient que de faux iours: Aussi est-elle morte en un pays, où l'on ayme la verité, & d'où l'on bannit les apparences. La gloire d'une belle ame n'est pas d'avoir de beaux yeux, mais d'avoir des mains faites au tour, comme celles de l'Espouse, propres pour exercer les vertus. Voicy quelques petites marques de celles dont nostre Canadienne a esté hautement enrichie. Commençons par son humilité.

Il me semble que ie pourrois dire, que [175] le defect de lumiere est cause que nous craignons les loüanges, & le mépris. L'ame qui voit nettement le neant de tout ce qui n'est pas Dieu, se met peu en peine d'estre aymée, ou d'estre haye; d'estre hono-

dom of sufferings, to be one of the foundation-stones of a Seminary and Convent erected in the name of saint Joseph.

[174] OF SOME OF HER VIRTUES.

GREAT lights and lofty contemplations which do not engender virtue are like those flowers which bear no fruit; their tree is beautiful, but it is not useful. There are persons enough who talk about virtue, or who take pleasure in hearing it talked about, who approve it and who honor it; but the number of those who actually practice it is small indeed. Our Canadian made this her guiding principle, believing that all visions which did not tend thither went astray from the true path, and that all brightness not representing virtue was only a false light; so she died in a country where truth is loved, and whence mere appearances are banished. The glory of a beautiful soul is not to have beautiful eyes, but to have well-formed hands, like those of the Bride, fitted for the exercise of the virtues. Here are some little marks of those with which our Canadian was highly endowed. Let us begin with her humility.

It seems to me that I might say that [175] want of clear vision is the cause of our being so sensitive to praise and scorn. The soul that sees clearly the nothingness of all that is not God, gives itself little concern whether it be loved or hated, honored or despised, by that nothingness. Mother de St. Joseph was so convinced of her own baseness, she was so filled with thoughts of God's grandeur, and she saw so clearly that from him alone comes trustworthy and true judgment, that she could almost say with St.

rée, ou d'estre méprisée de ce neant. La Mere de S. Ioseph estoit si conuai[n]cuë de ses bassesses, elle estoit si remplie des pensées de la grandeur de Dieu: elle voyoit si euidemment que de luy seul procedoit vn folide & vn veritable iugement qu'elle pouuoit quasi dire avec S. Paul, que le iugement des hommes luy estoit de peu d'importance. Ceux qui ne recherchent que l'approbation du Roy, ne se foucient gueres de l'opinion d'un payfan. De là vient qu'elle receuoit au fonds de son ame les mépris comme des veritez, les voyant tres-conformes à son estat: & l'honneur comme des menfonges, s'en iugeant deuant Dieu veritablement indigne: difons plustost, qu'elle méprisoit l'un & l'autre, comme un homme sage méprise le ieu des noix, ou l'occupation des petits enfans.

Elle receuoit avec vne grande égalité d'esprit, voire mesme avec plaisir, les paroles & les actions qui tendoient à son abbaiffement, [176] disant qu'elles tendoient à la verité. Elle auoit de l'amour & de la douceur pour les personnes qui la mortifioiēt: elle les defendoit dans les rencontres, & leur rendoit volontiers seruice dans leurs besoins.

Elle ne pouuoit souffrir qu'on s'éleuast pour sa naissance, ne reconnoissant autre noblesse que la vertu: Elle disoit que la Religion rendoit tous ses fujets égaux, leur donnant à tous vne mesme naissance; & que la vertu, & les vices faisoient les nobles, & les roturiers. Quelqu'un luy ayant fait demander quelque esclarcissement touchant l'un de ses ancestres: elle fit réponse, qu'elle ne s'estoit iamais mise en peine de sçauoir les auantages que la Nature luy auoit donnez en ses parens! que sa gloire

Paul that the judgment of men was to her of little account. Those who seek only the King's approval scarcely trouble themselves about the opinion of a peasant. Thence it was that, in her inmost soul, she received contempt as if it were the truth, regarding it as very well suited to her condition; and honor as if it were deceitfulness, holding herself before God as truly unworthy of it. Let us say that she held both in small esteem, as a wise man despises the game of knuckle-bones, or the pursuits of little children.

She received with great equanimity, indeed even with pleasure, words and actions that tended to her own abasement, [176] saying that they conduced to the truth. She felt love and kindness for persons who mortified her,—defending them, when occasion offered, and willingly rendering them service in their needs.

Recognizing no other nobility than virtue, she could not endure that any one should exalt himself on account of his birth. She said that Religion rendered all its subjects equal, giving to all one and the same birth, and that virtues and vices made nobles and plebeians. When some one caused her to be asked for some information concerning one of her ancestors, she replied that she had never taken the trouble to ascertain the advantages Nature had given her in her parents,—that it was her glory to be the daughter of God and of his Church, and that she rested all her good fortune and happiness on that glory. It was not that she failed to love and honor her parents, but that love and honor were bestowed upon him from whom they derived their true greatness.

Although the mere thought that Jesus Christ,

estoit d'estre fille de Dieu, & de son Eglise: qu'elle mettoit tout son bonheur & sa félicité dans cette gloire. Ce n'est pas qu'elle n'aymât, & qu'elle n'honorât Messieurs ses parens: mais cet amour & cet honneur se rendoit en celui duquel ils tiroient leur véritable grandeur.

La seule pensée que Iesus-Christ son Sauveur avoit passé trente ans dans une [177] vie obscure & cachée, arrêtant toutes ses productions au dehors, elle ne pouvoit cacher ses talens naturels, qui la rendoient fort aimable, & fort recommandable à tout le monde: Mais toutes les graces, & toutes les faueurs dont ie viens de parler, estoient inconnues aux personnes qui l'approchoient de plus pres, elle-mesme en détournoit la vue, sachant bien que l'éclair blesse l'œil, & engendre la foudre & le tonnerre. Elle suivoit parfaitement en ce point, la conduite de ses Directeurs, qui passoient légèrement sur ces faueurs extraordinaires, laissant faire à Dieu son ouvrage, & portant sa creature à luy estre fidele. Jamais ils ne parloient ny dehors, ny dedans la maison, des operations qui ne sont pas de nostre estage; on exaltoit l'humilité, la patience, la charité, & les autres vertus. C'est dans ces voyes qu'on tenoit cette ame occupée, & ie m'assure qu'une partie de ses Sœurs sera étonnée, lisant ce qu'elles ont peut-estre ignoré iusques à maintenant. Il est vray qu'on luy avoit commandé depuis quelque temps d'écrire la conduite que Dieu avoit tenu sur elle depuis son enfance: afin (disoit-on) de penetrer plus [178] avant dans son ame, qui se produisoit assez peu; on ne vouloit pas perdre ces thresors, mais l'incendie de leur maison nous les a ravus.

her Savior, had passed thirty years in a [177] life obscure and hidden, checked all outward manifestations of self, she could not conceal her native talents, which rendered her very lovable and commendable to all. But all the graces and favors of which I have just spoken were unknown to those who approached her most nearly,—she herself diverting the view from them, since she was well aware that lightning hurts the eyes and causes thunder and the thunderbolt. In this respect she followed perfectly the guidance of her Directors, who passed lightly over these extraordinary favors, leaving God to do his work, and inciting his creature to be faithful to him. Neither out of nor in the house did they ever speak of operations that are not within our domain; humility, patience, charity, and the other virtues were exalted. It was in these paths that that soul was kept engaged, and I am sure that a part of her Sisters will be astonished to read what they have, perhaps, been ignorant of hitherto. It is true, she had been bidden, some time previously, to write an account of the guidance which God had exercised over her from her infancy; in order that (as it was said) a more intimate knowledge might be gained [178] of her soul, which made little enough outward manifestation of itself. We would not willingly have lost those treasures; but the burning of their house snatched them from us.

“Here is an action proceeding from her humility and obedience. The perception that she had of her nothingness gave her a great love for the hidden life; and that love sometimes caused her fear and dread lest she should be drawn from beneath the bushel and set upon a candlestick. One day, when

Voicy vne action qui part de son humilité, & de son obeyffance. La veüe qu'elle auoit de son neant luy donnoit vn grand amour pour la vie cachée, & cet amour luy donnoit quelquefois de la peur & de la crainte qu'on ne la tiraſt de deſſous le muid, pour la placer ſur le chandelier. Vn certain iour que le temps de faire élection de la Superieure s'approchoit, l'apprehenſion d'eſtre eleüe luy donnant quelque trouble, elle ſe iette aux pieds de ſon Eſpoux, elle le careſſe, elle l'amadoüe, elle luy repreſente qu'il a paſſé toute ſa vie dans la baſſeſſe; qu'il a proteſté que ſon Royaume n'eſtoit point de ce monde; elle le coniure de luy accorder la grace que ſa vie ait quelque rapport à la ſienne: qu'elle ſoit vn hommage de ſa creiche, vne dépendance de ſa croix, vne fuite de ſes aneantiſſemens, puis qu'il vouloit que noſtre vie fuſt cachée dans la ſienne. Je vous promets, & vous fais vœu, luy diſoit-elle, que j'aymeray, que j'honoreraſ, celle que vous aurez éleüe, que ie [179] vous obeïray fidelement en elle tant qu'il me ſera poſſible: Je vous verray en la voyant, ie vous aimeraſ en l'aimant: En fin elle me tiendra voſtre place. Sa priere fut exaucée, & ſon vœu accompli. Si toſt que la Superieure fut eleüe, elle l'alla trouuer, luy rendit vn compte fidele de ſon ame, & luy declara les voyes & les chemins que Dieu tenoit en ſa conduite, & tout cela avec la candeur & avec la ſimplicité d'un enfant, avec vne deference toute naïue, & toute aimable. Je vous laiſſe à penſer ſi vne Superieure pouoit ne pas aimer vne ame ſi ſoumiſe, vne ame enrichie de tres-beaux talens, vne ame genereuſe, qui faiſoit plus qu'elle ne diſoit: vne ame qui n'aimoit rien de mol, rien de bas dans ſa conuerſation,

the time to elect a Superior was drawing near, being somewhat disturbed by the fear of being elected, she cast herself at her Bridegroom's feet,—she caressed and coaxed him; represented to him that he had passed all his life in lowliness, affirming that his Kingdom was not of this world; and implored him to grant her the favor that her life might bear some resemblance to his, and might be a homage of his manger, a hanging upon his cross, and a continuation of his self-effacement, since he wished our lives to be hidden in his. 'I promise you and make a vow to you,' said she, 'that I will love and honor her whom you shall elect, and that I [179] will obey you faithfully in obeying her, as far as it shall be possible for me to do so. I shall see you in seeing her, I shall love you in loving her; in short, she shall hold your place to me.' Her prayer was granted and her vow fulfilled. As soon as the Superior was elected, she went to find her, rendered her a faithful account of her soul, and made known to her the paths and the roads which God took for her guidance,—and all this with the candor and simplicity of a child, and with a deference wholly ingenuous and very lovable. I leave you to judge whether a Superior could fail to love a soul so submissive, a soul endowed with very fine talents, a generous soul which did more than it said, a soul which disliked anything shallow, anything low in its conversation, which was free from all puerility before the world, and which rendered itself compliant and docile to those who directed it.

"I am ocular witness to this last article, for she revealed her heart to me at that time. I was the depositary of her fears and vows and of her entire

qui n'auoit rien de puerile deuant le monde, & qui se rendoit souple & traitable à ceux qui la dirigeoient.

Ie fuis tefmoin oculaire de ce dernier article, comme elle me découuroit fon cœur en ce temps-là: Ie fus le depofitaire de fes craintes, & de fes vœux, & de tout fon procedé. Quelques perfonnes voyant qu'elle eftoit toujours aimée de fes Superieurs, & n'en fçachant pas le fecret, [180] difoient qu'elle se trouuoit toujours du coûté des plus forts: qu'elle fçauoit gagner ceux qui commandoient; que fon induftrie la mettoit toujours à l'abry des tempeftes qui venoient d'enhaut: Elles difoient la verité, mais elles attribuoient à vne baffeffe d'efprit, ce qui prouenoit d'une haute generofité.

Ie fçay encore qu'une perfonne luy a donné bien de l'exercice, & ie n'ay iamais fceu que fa bouche & fon cœur se foient efchapez à fon efgard. Puis qu'il n'y a point de danger maintenant de reueler les fecrets de l'efchole, ie feray encore vn pas. On l'accufoit quelquefois, non pas de trop d'attache, car c'eftoit vn efprit fort libre, mais de rendre trop de complaifance à quelques perfonnes, foit par quelque fympathie, ou pour quelque intereft trop humain. Moy qui connoiffois fon cœur fi dégagé, ie fouriois fans mot dire: car ie fçauois qu'elle auoit vne antipathie naturelle contre ceux à qui elle rendoit ces complaifances: leur humeur eftoit defagreable à fes fens: mais comme fes fens n'eftoient chez elle que des valets, elle les faisoit plier fous la raifon, & fous la grace avec vne fi grande fidelité, qu'on eut dit [181] que ce qui leur eftoit amer, se changeoit en douceur & en miel. Elle agiffoit d'ailleurs avec des principes, mefme naturels, fi dégagez, & fi genereux, qu'il luy

procedure. Some persons, seeing that she was always loved by her Superiors, and not knowing the secret of it, [180] used to say that she was always on the side of the stronger, that she knew how to win those who were in command, and that her adroitness always sheltered her from the storms which came from above. They told the truth, but they attributed to a meanness of spirit what arose from a high noble-mindedness.

“ I know also of a certain person’s giving her a great deal of trouble, and I have never known that her mouth or her heart escaped her control in regard to that person. Since there is now no danger of telling tales out of school, I will add one thing more. She was accused sometimes, not of too great attachment — for hers was a spirit by no means held in bonds — but of yielding too great complaisance to some persons, — whether through some sympathy, or from some too human interest. As for me, who knew her heart to be so unfettered, I smiled without saying anything; for I knew that she felt a natural antipathy toward those to whom she rendered this complaisance. Their temperaments were disagreeable to her senses; but as, with her, the senses were but servants, she made them bow to reason and grace with so great fidelity that one would have said [181] what was bitter to them became changed into sweetness and honey. Besides, she acted from principles which were even natural to her and were so free and so magnanimous, that it was next to impossible for her to seek the friendship or support of any creature by a base submission. Guidance from a man, or woman, or girl was, in itself, unbearable to her; guidance from God through the instrumentality of a

estoit comme impossible de rechercher l'amitié, ou l'appuy d'aucune creature par vne foudmission basse. La conduite purement d'un homme, ou d'une femme, ou d'une fille, luy estoit insupportable: La conduite de Dieu par un enfant l'eut abbaissée iusques au neant: elle aimoit le canal par où les ordres luy venoient du Ciel, sans prendre garde s'il estoit de bois, ou de terre; de plomb, ou d'or.

L'un de ses attraites pour le Canadas étoit l'amour qu'elle portoit à la pauvreté, elle aimoit le pays qui la rendoit semblable à son Espoux: Le viure pauvre & grossier, les froids tres-longs & tres-piquants estoient fort contraires à ses infirmités, mais tres-conformes à ses affections. Il falloit deviner ses besoins, tant elle estoit industrieuse à les dissimuler. Jamais on n'entendoit de plaintes, jamais de poursuites pour obtenir, non pas ce qui auroit repugné à la perfection, mais ce qui auroit été tant soit peu moins conforme à la sainteté de ses vœux.

[182] Je ne dy rien de sa pureté toute Angelique, elle estoit si bien préparée, & si bien armée contre les objets, qui l'auroient pû tenir, tant soit peu, qu'on eut dit qu'ils n'eussent osé l'approcher de mille lieux loing, tant elle estoit sur ses gardes, & tant elle avoit d'horreur de ce qui auroit pû bleffer l'innocence des Vierges, qui suivent par tout l'Agneau dans les Cieux.

Sa conversation n'estoit point melancolique, on ne luy voyoit jamais un visage refrongné, une humeur saturnienne, ou bigare: elle estoit gaie, d'un entretien aimable: mais toujours modeste; elle scauoit disposer les cœurs, par de petites rencontres agréables, pour donner son coup bien à propos: ses discours, quoy que de Dieu, n'estoient point ennuyeux,

child would have humbled her to the point of self-annihilation. She loved the channel through which Heaven's orders reached her, without heeding whether it was of wood or of clay, of lead or of gold.

"One of her bonds of attachment to Canadas was the love that she felt for poverty: she loved the country which made her like her Bridegroom. The living, poor and coarse, and the cold, of long duration and great severity, were very unfavorable to her infirmities, but very much in harmony with her predilections. It was necessary to guess her wants, so adroit was she in dissembling them. Never were there heard any complaints, never any attempts to obtain, not what would have been a hindrance to perfection, but what would have been in the slightest degree out of harmony with the sanctity of her vows.

[182] "I say nothing of her altogether Angelic purity: she was so well prepared and so well armed against those things that might have enslaved her, however little, that one would have said they would not have dared to approach her within a thousand leagues,—so perfectly was she on her guard, and such horror did she have of what might have wounded the innocence of the Virgins who everywhere follow the Lamb in the Heavens.

"Her conversation was not melancholy; one never saw a frown on her face or observed in her a Saturnine or an uneven humor; she was cheerful, amiable in conversation, but always modest; she knew how to prepare hearts, by pleasant little incidents, for most seasonably making her stroke. Her talk, although about God, was not tiresome but profitable, even to those who had not much love for

mais profitables, à ceux mêmes, qui n'aimoient pas beaucoup la vertu. Ce n'estoit point vn esprit pointilleux, ny ombrageux; mais vn esprit franc, rond, droit, & si ferme, que ie puis dire, que dans toutes les affaires qu'elle ma communiquées, qui n'estoient pas quelque fois de petite importance, soit pour la pais soit pour le repos & pour l'auancement de leur maison, que i'ay toujours trouué en elle, vn Iugement, [183] non de fille, mais d'un homme de bon sens.

Ses talens, & ses graces, luy donnoient vn ascendant, sur l'esprit des François, & des Americains, qui en estoient charmés. Iamais ils ne l'approchoient, qu'ils ne sentissent, & ne remportassent, quelque bluette du feu qui bruloit dans son ame; & apres tout, elle estoit si Religieuse, & portoit tant de respect à ses Reigles, notamment au seruice diuin, qu'elle tranchoit tout court, si tost que la cloche l'appelloit au Chœur. On luy dit vne fois, qu'elle auoit quitté trop tost, vne personne de consideration, qui fouhaitoit vn plus long entretien. Dieu ne se paye pas, repondit-elle, de nos paroles, mais de nostre obeissance: ie quitterois vn Roy de la terre, pour obeïr au Roy du Ciel.

Elle ne fut pas si tost arriuée en la Nouvelle France, quelle s'appliqua à l'estude des langues du pays, elle apprit la langue Algonquine, & la langue Huronne, avec assés de facilité. On peut dire que ces deux langues, luy estoient deux langues faintes, deux langues innocentes, ne s'en estant iamais seruies, que pour Dieu.

Quand elle eut acquis ces deux threfors, [184] elle departoit le pain de la parole de Dieu, avec tant de

virtue. Hers was not a punctilious nature or one that took umbrage easily; but frank, well-rounded, upright, and so firm that I can say that, in all the communications made to me by her,—and sometimes they were of no little importance, whether in regard to the country, or for the tranquility or the advancement of their house,—I always found in her the Judgment, [183] not of a girl, but of a man of good sense.

“ Her talents and her graces gave her an ascendancy over the minds of both French and Americans, who were charmed with them. They never approached her without feeling and carrying away some spark of the fire that burned in her soul; and, after all, she was so Religious and paid such respect to her Rules, especially to the divine service, that she would cut short all else as soon as the bell called her to the Choir. On one occasion she was told that she had left too soon a person of consequence, who wished for a longer interview. ‘ God is not satisfied,’ she replied, ‘ with our words, but with our obedience; I would leave a King, in the world, to obey the King of Heaven.’ ”

No sooner had she arrived in New France than she applied herself to the study of the languages of the country, learning the Algonquin and Huron tongues with considerable facility. Those two may be said to have been to her two holy languages, two innocent languages, never having been used by her except for God.

When she had acquired these two treasures, [184] she dispensed the bread of the word of God with so much grace to those poor people, that both children and grown persons loved her as their mother. She

grace, à ces pauvres peuples, que les petis, & les grands l'aymoient comme leur mere. Elle en a instruits quantité, depuis les premiers elemens du christianisme, iusques à les rendre dignes du sainct Baptême, & des autres Sacremens de l'Eglise: elle feruoit de Mere Spirituelle à plusieurs; leur donnans des auis, & des conseils si Chrestiens, pour leur conduite dans les voyes de leur salut, qu'ils en estoient ravis. Non seulement les femmes, mais encor quelques hommes, tant Hurons qu'Algonquins, luy ouvroient leurs cœurs: ils luy proposoi[en]t leurs peines, & leurs difficultés, avec vne entiere confiance: & toujours ils s'en retournoient fort foulagés, & fort édifiés. Son nom estoit connu dans tout le pays des Algonquins, & des Hurons: ils l'appelloient tantost Marie Ioseph en nostre langue, tantost la fille saincte, & la fille de Capitaine, en langue Huronne & Algonquine. ce sont les deux noms qu'ils donnent en general, aux Religieuses de ce nouveau monde.

Si ces nouvelles plantes auoient de l'amour & du respect pour la Mere Marie de [185] sainct Ioseph, il ne se peut dire combien elle les cherissoit, & combien sainctement elle les careffoit, c'estoient ses creatures, pour le salut desquelles elle eut donné mille vies, & eut souffert mille morts. Elle faisoit tous les ans son possible, aupres de Madame sa bonne mere, & aupres de quelques autres personnes de pieté, pour mandier quelque aumosne, & quelque Charitez, pour ses bons Neophytes, & en contre échange, elle leur procuroit des Mediateurs, & des Mediatrices aupres de Nostre Seigneur, ce qu'elle a continué iusques à la mort.

Elle ne prenoit pas facilement l'effort, & ne croyoit

instructed many of them, beginning with the first elements of Christianity and leading up to the point where they were worthy of holy Baptism and of the other Sacraments of the Church; she was the Spiritual Mother of many, giving them such Christian advice and counsel for their guidance in the paths of their salvation, that they were charmed therewith. Not only the women, but also some men,—Hurons, as well as Algonquins,—opened their hearts to her, stating to her their troubles and difficulties with an entire confidence; and they always returned from these interviews greatly comforted and edified. Her name was known in all the country of the Algonquins and of the Hurons, she being called by them sometimes Marie Joseph, in our tongue; again, “the holy maiden,” and “the Captain’s daughter,” in the Huron and Algonquin languages; those are the two names that they commonly give to the Nuns of this new world.

If these new plants had love and respect for Mother Marie de [185] saint Joseph, it is impossible to express how much she cherished them, and with what holy love she caressed them; they were her creatures, for whose salvation she would have given a thousand lives, and suffered a thousand deaths. Every year, she used her utmost influence with Madame her good mother, and with other persons of piety, to obtain some alms and Charitable offerings for her good Neophytes; and, in exchange, she procured for those benefactors Mediators of both sexes with Our Lord. This practice she continued until her death.

She did not enter upon an undertaking thoughtlessly, and did not believe in all kinds of spirits; she

pas à toutes fortes d'esprits, elle confideroit les choses en Dieu, deuant que de les embrasser, & quand elle auoit receu quelques ordres de sa part, luy seul l'en pouuoit dispenser. Les creatures ne l'en faisoient iamais demordre. Que n'a-t'on pas fait, pour l'ebranler dans sa vocation de Canadas? on luy a tiré des coups capables d'abbattre vn Geant. Si-tost qu'elle eut fait le premier pas sortant de Tours, pour aller en cette Region lointaine, ou Dieu l'appelloit, le bruit, & la cause de son voyage, s'estant repandu [186] bien loing, ceux qui s'interreſsoient dans l'honneur de sa maison, informerent Messieurs ses parens si chaudement du mal-heur où ils iettoient leur fille, leur disans que le Canadas estoit vn pays perdu de reputation, que le vice y tenoit le haut bout, qu'on auoit vſé de surpriſe en leur endroit; mais qu'il estoit encor aisé de rompre ce dessein. La dessus Monsieur de la Troche, enuoye des lettres à sa fille tres-puissantes, & des ordres de l'arrester la part ou elle se trouuera. Nostre Canadienne qui vit bien que ces donneurs d'auis, n'entendoient pas la Geographie, prenant l'Amerique Septentrionale pour la Meridionale, ne se trompans que de huit cent lieuës, & dauantage, ne s'estonna point: elle eut recours à l'oraïſon, & à sa plume: elle agit aupres de Dieu, & aupres de Monsieur son pere: le premier estoit de son party; elle eut plus de peine à gagner le second, elle répondit si clairement, & si sagement, & avec tant de zele, qu'on fit arrester toute la violence qu'on luy preparoit: mais on remit l'affaire; entre les mains du R. P. Dom Raymond de saint Bernard, Prouincial des RR. PP. Fueillans, qui pour ce sujet se trāſporta iusques [187] à Dieppe. Comme il auoit les

took counsel with God on all matters, before choosing them; and, when she had received any orders from him, he alone could exempt her from their execution. No creature ever made her relax from her purpose. What was not done to shake her in her call to Canadas? Blows were given her, capable of prostrating a Giant. As soon as she had taken the first step, setting out from Tours to go to that distant Region whither God was calling her, the report of her journey and its object having spread [186] far and wide, those who were interested in the honor of her house represented to her parents in such vivid terms the wretchedness to which they were consigning their daughter,—telling them that Canadas was a country of ruined reputation, that vice held the upper hand there, that unfair means had been employed in their case, but that it was still easy to balk the plan,—that thereupon Monsieur de la Troche sent a very urgent letter to his daughter, and orders to stop her wherever she should be found. Our Canadian—seeing plainly that these givers of advice did not understand Geography, but took North America for South, making an error of only eight hundred leagues, and more—was not at all dismayed. She had recourse to prayer and to her pen, taking action with God and with Monsieur her father. The former was on her side, but she had more difficulty in winning the latter. She answered so clearly and discreetly, with such zeal, that all the violent measures that had been planned against her were checked. The matter, however, was placed in the hands of the Reverend Father Dom Raymond de saint Bernard, Provincial of the Reverend Feuillant Fathers,⁵ who made a journey on this account as

yeux faits aux lumieres, qui viennent d'un lieu, plus releué que le Soleil, & les oreilles degagées, il se rendit bien-toft, aux raifons de nôtre Canadienne, portant sentence en fa faueur.

Sa vocation ne fut pas feulement combattuë en France, on luy fit guerre iufques en Canadas, La nouuelle que les Hiroquois, auançoient tous les iours de plus en plus, dans le quartier des François, & que les infirmités de cette bonne mere, croiffoient à veuë d'œil, donna tant de crainte à des parens, qui aimoient tendrement vne fi fage fille, qu'ils la prefferent, & la coniurerent, par tout ce qu'il auoient de plus cher au monde, de se rendre encor vne fois vifible en France. Cette ame courageufe n'auoit garde de defcendre de la Croix; comme elle eftoit eloquente fur ce fujet, elle les conuainquit par des raifons fi fortes, tirées de la volonté, de celui qui l'auoit appellée en ce pays de benediction, & de la fidelité qu'elle eftoit obligée de luy rendre, qu'ils n'oferent plus l'attaquer par eux mefmes, demeurans edifiés de fon courage, & furpris de la force de fon raifonnement.

[188] Monfeigneur l'Euefque de la Rochelle, fon oncle dit franchement au R. P. Hierôme Lallemant, qui se donna l'honneur de l'aller faluër, repaffant en Canadas; qu'il auoit refoluit de la rappeler en France: mais que les lettres l'en auoient empesché, il les voyoit fi puiffantes en raifons, elles parloient fi hautement de la perfeuerance qu'on doit auoir en fa vocation, qu'il creut, qu'un efprit plus haut que le fien, les auoit dictées: c'est pourquoy il la laiffa en paix. Elle aimoit cette chere contrée, comme un parterre emailé de fleurs, comme un champ planté de lauriers, comme un pays, où il y a plus de Dieu,

far [187] as Dieppe. Having his eyes adapted to the light that comes from a source more exalted than the Sun, and his ears entirely free, he very soon yielded to the arguments of our Canadian and gave sentence in her favor.

Her calling was not only combated in France, but it even met with opposition in Canadas. The news that the Hiroquois were advancing farther and farther every day into the French district, and that this good mother's infirmities were visibly increasing, gave so much alarm to parents who tenderly loved so good a daughter, that they urged her and conjured her, by all that was dearest to them in the world, to show herself once more in France. That courageous soul took heed not to descend from the Cross; as she was eloquent on this subject, she convinced them by such strong arguments, drawn from the will of him who had called her to this land of benediction, and from the fidelity she was bound to render him, that they no longer ventured to attack her on their own responsibility, being left in a state of edification at her courage, and of surprise at the force of her reasoning.

[188] Monseigneur the Bishop of la Rochelle, her uncle, said frankly to the Reverend Father Hierôme Lallemand,—who did himself the honor of going to salute him, on his way back to Canadas,—that he had resolved to recall her to France, but that her letters had prevented him; they seemed to him so cogent in argument and spoke in such exalted language of the perseverance one ought to have in his calling, that he believed a spirit higher than her own had dictated them; for that reason, he left her in peace. She loved this dear country as a flower-garden dotted with flowers, as a field planted with laurels, as a land

qu'il y a moins de la creature, ce n'est pas qu'il ne soit fort bon, étant parallèle à la France; mais n'étant pas encor bien cultivé, il porte plus de fruits pour le Ciel, que pour la terre.

DE SA PATIENCE & DE SA MORT.

L me semble qu'on peut dire, que la patience est l'une des plus fortes marques, & des preuves plus antiques de la vertu. Le moyen d'être humble, d'être pauvre évangéliquement, d'être [189] obéissant, & de posséder beaucoup d'autres vertus, si on n'est bien armé, & bien couvert du bouclier de la patience? Depuis que Notre Seigneur eut dit à cette Amazone Canadienne, qu'elle ne vivoit plus que de foy & de croix, elle ne fit plus que languir, elle fut attaquée d'un asthme, & d'une maladie de poulmon, & d'une oppression de poitrine, qui la faisoit touffer incessamment: Elle crachoit le sang, & ne se pouvoit quasi mouvoir sans douleur. Elle dit confidemment à la Mere de l'Incarnation, en sa dernière maladie, qu'elle n'avoit point porté de fanté depuis ces bienheureuses paroles. La fièvre ne la quittoit quasi jamais, le mal la faisoit souffrir, mais jamais plaindre: Jamais elle ne demandoit de particularitez: Jamais elle ne s'absentoit des observations, elle gardoit ses Regles ponctuellement; il ne falloit ny Rome, ny Banquiers, ny dispenses pour elle. Comme elle avoit une belle voix, & qu'elle entendoit bien la Musique, non seulement elle chantoit, & psalmodioit, mais elle conduisoit encore le Chœur, à quoy sans doute elle avoit grace: car elle y réussissoit à merveille, nonobstant ses difficultez de poulmon. Sa [190] persévérance dans cet exercice jusques à la

where, the more there is of God, the less there is of the creature,—not that it is not an excellent country, being in the same latitude as France; but, as it is not yet well cultivated, it bears more fruits for Heaven than for the earth.

OF HER PATIENCE AND OF HER DEATH.

IT seems to me that patience may be said to be one of the strongest marks and most authentic proofs of virtue. What means is there of being humble, of being poor, in the gospel sense, of being [189] obedient and of possessing many other virtues, if one is not armed and well protected by the buckler of patience? From the time when Our Lord told this Canadian Amazon that she would live thenceforth only by faith and crosses, she did nothing but waste away,—being attacked with an asthma, a disease of the lungs, and an oppression at the chest, which caused her to cough incessantly. She spat blood, and could scarcely move without pain. In her last illness, she told Mother de l'Incarnation in confidence that she had not been well since those blessed words. Her fever scarcely ever left her; her ailment made her suffer, but never complain. She never asked for any special favors, never absented herself from observances, but kept her Rules punctually; neither Rome, nor Bankers,⁶ nor dispensations were needed for her. As she had a beautiful voice and understood Music well, not only did she sing and chant the psalms, but she also led the Choir, for which office she doubtless had aptitude; for she succeeded in it marvelously, notwithstanding her lung troubles. Her [190] perseverance in this exercise, down to the time of her death, made it evident that her patience

mort, a fait voir que sa patience estoit heroïque: aussi peut-on dire que cette patience s'estoit changée en amour de complaisance aux adorables desseins de Dieu sur sa conduite.

Si on la plaingnoit, on luy donnoit de la honte: si on luy vouloit rendre quelque petit seruice, on la iettoit dans la confusion. Les autres, à son dire, auoient bien plus de besoin d'estre soulagée que non pas elle; Lors que le mal estoit si grand, qu'elle estoit contrainte de demeurer au liét, elle rendoit vne si aimable obeïssance à ses Infirmieres, elle receuoit leurs seruices avec tant de reconnoissance, elle se rendoit si complaisante à la façon dont elles la gouuernoient, qu'il n'y en auoit aucune dans la maison qui ne se tint heureuse de la seruir. Ayant passé plus de quatre ans en des maladies, qui sembloient luy donner de temps en temps quelque peu de relasche: enfin elle sentit le iour de la Purification de la sainte Vierge de l'année precedente 1652. le coup qui la deuoit emporter.

Tous ses maux redoublerent, elle n'auoit repos ny iour ny nuit, & cependant [191] elle ne laissoit pas d'aller au Chœur pour y communier, & pour participer aux conferences saintes qu'on y faisoit de temps en temps. Le quatriefme iour de Mars elle tomba dans vne telle extremité, qu'on luy fit recevoir le Viatique, & l'Extreme-Onction: mais Dieu la laissa encore vn mois en Purgatoire, c'est ainsi que j'appelle les derniers iours de la vie.

Remarquez, s'il vous plaist, que son Monastere ayant esté bruslé, & réduit en cendres l'année qui a precedé sa mort, les pauvres Vrfulines estoient logées dans vn trou, pour ainsi dire: leurs liets, ou leurs

was heroic; also it can be said that this patience was transformed into a compliant love toward the adorable purposes of God in regard to her guidance.

If any one pitied her, she was made ashamed; if one wished to do her a service, she was thrown into confusion. The others, according to her account, had much more need of succor than she. When her illness was at such a height that she was forced to remain in bed, she rendered such winsome obedience to her Nurses, she received their services with so much gratitude, she showed herself so compliant with their way of governing her, that there was not one in the house who did not deem herself happy to serve her. After passing more than four years in ailments which seemed, from time to time, to give her some slight respite, at length,—on the day of the Purification of the blessed Virgin, of last year, 1652,—she felt the stroke that was to carry her off.

All her ills redoubled, she had no rest either day or night, and yet [191] she did not cease to go to the Choir for the purpose of receiving communion, and taking part in the holy conferences that were held there from time to time. On the fourth day of March, she became so critically ill that the Viaticum and Extreme Unction were administered to her; but God left her a month longer in Purgatory—for so I call the last days of her life.

Note, if you please, that—her Monastery having been burnt and reduced to ashes, in the year preceding her death—the poor Ursulines were lodged in a hole, so to speak. Their beds, or their cabins, were one above another, as one sees those shelves in the Merchants' shops where they arrange their merchandise. She had her bed on one of these shelves.

cabanes estoient les vnes sur les autres, comme on voit ces rayons dans les boutiques des Marchands, où ils rangent leurs marchandises. Elle estoit couchée dans l'un de ces rayons. Le bruit des petites escolières, le chant & la psalmodie du Chœur dans une maison toute ramassée: le tintamarre qui se faisoit sur un plancher d'aix par des fandaes de bois dont se servoient les Religieuses, le feu leur ayant dérobé leurs autres chauffures: la fumée qui se glissoit par tout, & qui n'étoit pas bien propre pour arrester sa toux, & guerir son poulmon, & mille autres incommoditez [192] qui se rencontrent dans les maisons de ceux qui ont tout perdu par un grand incendie: toutes ces croix, dis-je, n'ont iamais troublé la ferenité de son cœur, ny alteré la douceur de sa patience. Toutes ces incommoditez ne font encore que des roses, Nostre Seigneur luy a donné les degrez de fer & de souffrance, à proportion qu'il l'a voulu hautement élever dans les Cieux.

Elle apprehendoit une maladie qui exigeast des services fâcheux à la malade, & aux Infirmières: Elle craignoit des douleurs trop aiguës, de peur que sa foiblesse ne fût faire naufrage à sa patience: Elle fouhaitoit d'estre libre des grands delaissemens intérieurs qu'elle avoit souffert autrefois, de crainte de ne pas rendre avec amour la fidélité qu'elle avoit vouée à son Seigneur. Elle tomba iustemêt dans ces trois espreuves: mais celui qui la ietta dans ces combats, luy fit remporter hautement la victoire.

Elle devint si fortement & si pleinement hydro-pique, qu'on prit resolution de luy faire des ouvertures aux iambes pour attirer les eaux qui la vouloient suffoquer. Le Chirurgien luy fit de grandes [193]

The noise of the little scholars; the singing and chanting of psalms by the Choir, in a closely crowded household; the din made on a plank floor by wooden sandals, which the Nuns used, the fire having robbed them of their other footwear; the smoke which invaded every nook and corner, and was not well suited for arresting her cough, or curing her lungs; and a thousand other inconveniences [192] which are met with in the houses of those who have lost everything in a great fire,—all these crosses, I say, never disturbed the serenity of her heart or altered the sweetness of her patience. All these hardships were as yet only roses; degrees of iron and of suffering were given her by Our Lord in proportion to his will to exalt her high in Heaven.

She dreaded an illness that should demand services burdensome alike to patient and to Nurses; she feared pains of too great severity, lest her weakness might bring shipwreck to her patience; and she wished to be free from the great spiritual destitution that she had formerly suffered, for fear that she should not render with love the fidelity which she had vowed to her Lord. Precisely these three trials she encountered; but he who subjected her to these conflicts made her win the victory gloriously.

She became so extremely dropsical that it was resolved to make openings in her legs, in order to draw off the water that threatened to burst her flesh. The Surgeon made large [193] and deep incisions in her living flesh, so that the membrane was visible, the pain causing her to utter the holy Name of JESUS. Then, becoming conscious of her very innocent murmur, "Alas!" she said, "I am very weak-spirited; forgive me the unedifying conduct I

& de profondes incisions dans la chair viue, en forte qu'on voyoit la membrane: la douleur luy fit prononcer le sainct Nom de IESVS. Puis s'apperceuant de sa plainte fort innocente: Helas! dit-elle, ie suis bien sensible, pardonnez-moy la mauuaise edification que ie vous donne. Ce remede appliqué la sepmaine saincte, n'eut autre effect que de luy faire tenir compagnie à son Redempteur en ce temps de souffrances. Il ne dis rien des douleurs qu'elle souffrit quãd on pensoit ses playes. Le Chirurgien, homme expérimenté, voyant que la cangrene s'emparoit de ses iambes, appliqua vn appareil dans ces grãdes ouuertes, qui luy causa des douleurs si cuifantes, si aiguës, & si continuelles 3. iours durant, qu'on croyoit à tous momens qu'elle allast expirer.

Ces tourmens luy sembloient doux, à comparaison des angoisses interieures, & des abandons qu'elle souffroit en l'ame: Elle auoit ressenty assez souuent ces grandes croix, & ces delaiiffemēs: mais ce coup, qui fut le dernier, fut le plus violēt de tous, il est croyable qu'il la purifia iusqu'au vif, & qu'il emporta les plus petites taches de son ame. Elle parloit de Dieu incessamment, [194] & il luy sembloit qu'elle ne croyoit quasi pas qu'il fust ny au Ciel, ny en la terre: Elle agissoit, & elle ne le sçauoit pas: elle aimoit, & elle ne le connoissoit pas. Dieu luy auoit osté la veüe & la reflexion sur les sainctes operations de son ame. En vn mot, ce coup fut la consommation de sa vie, qu'elle acceptoit avec des soumissions heroïques à sa diuine Majesté, pour honorer le *Consummatum est*, que son bien-aimé Fils prononça sur l'arbre de la Croix. C'est veritablement dans ces derniers iours de sa vie, qu'elle ne viuoit plus que de

am showing you." This remedy, applied in holy week, produced no other effect than to make her bear her Redeemer company in that time of suffering. I say nothing of the agonies she endured when her wounds were dressed. The Surgeon, who was a man of experience, seeing that gangrene of her legs was supervening, applied to those large openings a dressing which caused her such intense, acute, and continual pain, for the space of 3 days, that it was believed at every moment that she was going to die.

These torments seemed sweet to her in comparison with the inner agonies and abandonment that she suffered in her soul. She had often enough experienced these great crosses and feelings of desolation; but this stroke, which was the last, was the most violent of all. It is reasonable to believe that it purified her to the quick, and washed away the smallest stains from her soul. She spoke of God without ceasing, [194] and it seemed to her that she scarcely believed that he was either in Heaven or on earth. She was active, and did not know it; she loved, and was unconscious of it. God had deprived her of sight and reflection concerning the holy operations of her soul. In a word, this stroke was the consummation of her life; and she accepted it with heroic submission to his divine Majesty, in order to honor the *Consummatum est* which his well-beloved Son pronounced on the tree of the Cross. It was truly in these last days of her life that she ceased to live except by faith and crosses; and this was so little known by those to whom she did not open her heart, that one would have said she was surfeited with delight. Her talks with God were only on love, submission, and resignation to his adorable decrees.

foy, & de croix, & cela estoit si peu connu de ceux à qui elle n'ouvroit pas son cœur, que l'on eut dit qu'elle regorgeoit de delices. Ses colloques avec Dieu n'estoiēt que d'amour, que de foudmiffion, que de resignation à ses adorables volonte. Elle ne parloit dans ses entretiens avec les personnes qui la visitoient, que des biens de l'autre vie, des bassesses de tout ce qui est sur la terre, des richesses de la sainte Religion, de la fidelité qu'on doit rendre à sa vocation. Ah! que ie suis heureuse, disoit-elle à ses Sœurs, de mourir en vn lieu pauvre, d'estre priuée des petites delices de la Frâce! Escriuez, ie vous en prie, à Monsieur de [195] la Rochelle, à nos cheres Meres de Frâce, à mes parens, & les afeurez bien que ie meurs tres-contente de les auoir tous quitez. Ah! que ie suis fatisfaite d'auoir abādonné ce que ie pouuois pretēdre dans le monde! Que mon ame est contente d'estre venuē en ces nouuelles contrées! Faites-leur sçauoir, & n'y manquez pas, les grāds biens que ie reffens de ma vocation au païs des Sauuages. Elle ne se pouuoit lasser de benir Dieu des grandes graces qu'il luy auoit faites en fuite de cette vocation, & de cet appel. Elle disoit toutes ces choses dans son abandon, iouiissant d'vne paix secrete, qui n'exclud pas les souffrances: Paix qui nage au dessus de tous les sens, qui est logée si haut, que toutes les choses d'icy bas n'y sçauroient atteindre, & ne la sçauroient troubler.

Dieu qui fait tout pour le mieux, ne voulut pas accorder à la fidele Amante la grace de passer de cette vie en l'autre dans ce saint abandon, il luy donna trois iours deuant sa mort, des auant-gousts du Paradis, toutes les veuēs de ses peines luy furēt ostées, toutes ses douleurs furent appaifées, ce n'estoit que

In her conversation with those who visited her, she spoke only of the happiness of the other life, of the baseness of everything earthly, of the riches of the holy Religion, and of the fidelity one ought to render to his calling. "Ah, how happy I am," said she to her Sisters, "to die in a poor place, to be deprived of the petty delights of France! Write, I pray you, to Monsieur de [195] la Rochelle, to our dear Mothers of France, to my parents, and assure them fully that I die well content at having left them all. Ah, how entirely satisfied I am at having given up what I could have claimed in the world! How glad my soul is that it came to these new regions! Let them know, without fail, the great blessings I experience from my call to the country of the Savages." She could not bless God enough for the great favors he had shown her after that call and that summons. All these things she said in her forsaken condition, enjoying a secret peace which does not exclude sufferings,—a peace which soars over all the senses, and is lodged so high that nothing in all this lower world can reach or disturb it.

It was not the will of God, who does all for the best, to grant the faithful Loving one the grace of a passage from this life to the other during this holy state of abandonment; he gave her three days, before her death, of the foretastes of Paradise, all sight of her sufferings being removed from her, all her pains being stilled, and her heart filled with nothing but joy and delight. She said to the Reverend Father Hierosme Lallement, [196] who had been her director for some years: "I know, my Father, that God has promised to those who should leave anything in his name, a hundredfold in this world, and eternal life

ioye & que delices dâs fon cœur: Elle dit au R. P. Hier. Lallemant, [196] qui la dirigeoit depuis quelques années: *Je fçay, mon Pere, que Dieu a promis à ceux qui quitteroiēt quelque chose en fon nom, le centuple dés cette vie, & la vie eternelle en l'autre. Pour le centuple de cette vie, ie luy en donneray quittance quand il luy plaira, j'en fuis tres-abondamment payée: pour la vie eternelle, ie l'attends bien-toſt.* Elle renouuella ſes vœux de Religion, demanda pardon aux Aſſiſtans, receut le S. Viatique, remercia bien humblement le R. P. Paul Ragueneau, Supérieur de nos Miſſions, des grandes aſſiſtances qu'il auoit renduës à leur Maifon, notamment depuis leur incendie, le ſuppliant de continuer ſes bontez enuers ſes cheres Sœurs: Elle rendit ſes actions de graces aux Medecins du païs qui l'auoient charitablemēt aſſiſtée, les aſſeurât qu'elle prioit Dieu pour eux dans le Ciel, ſ'il luy faiſoit miſericorde. M. le Gouverneur l'enuoya viſiter de ſa part, pour ſe recommander à ſes prieres, la ſuppliant en outre, de ſe ſouuenir deuant Dieu des grâdes neceſſitez du païs qu'elle quittoit. Sa reſpōſe fut toute pleine de reſpect & d'humilité.

Encor qu'elle baiſât de momens en momens, elle auoit neantmoins l'eſprit ſi preſent [197] à foy, & ſi libre, que parlât à ſes Sœurs dans le particulier, vn peu de temps auant ſa mort, elle les entretenoit de ſon enterrement. Comme vous eſtes peu, leur diſoit-elle, il ne faut pas que vous preniez la peine de me porter en terre, ſeruez-vous des mains d'autres perſonnes: Ce trauail vous empeſcheroit de prier, & de louer Dieu, & de bien garder les ceremonies que l'Egliſe a ordonnées pour l'enterrement des Reli-

in the other. For the hundredfold in this world, I will give him a receipt whenever he wishes it; I am very abundantly repaid. As to the eternal life, I expect it before long." She renewed her Religious vows, asked forgiveness of those Present, received the Holy Viaticum, and thanked very humbly the Reverend Father Paul Ragueneau, Superior of our Missions, for the great assistance he had rendered their House, especially since their fire, begging him to continue his goodness toward her dear Sisters. She rendered her acknowledgments to the Physicians of the country who had charitably assisted her, assuring them that she would pray to God for them in Heaven, if he showed her mercy. Monsieur the Governor sent to visit her in his name, in order to commend himself to her prayers,—begging her, besides, to remember before God the great needs of the country she was leaving. Her reply was full of respect and humility.

Although she sank from moment to moment, yet her mind remained so well under her control [197] and so free, that, speaking to her Sisters in private, a little before her death, she talked with them about her burial. "As you are few in number," she said to them, "you must not take the trouble to bear me to the grave; make use of others' hands. That task would prevent you from praying, from praising God, and from observing with care the ceremonies which the Church has prescribed for the interment of Nuns." And thereupon, as she had a peculiar love for the Church and respected its smallest ordinances, she gently explained to them those ceremonies; and ascending thence even into the Heavens, she told of the wonders of the other life. "Our hearts," says

gieufes. Et là-deffus comme elle aimoit vniquement l'Eglife, refpectât fes plus petites ordonnances, elle leur expliquoit doucement ces ceremonies; & montant de là iufques dans les Cieux, elle rapportoit des merueilles de l'autre vie. Nos cœurs, dit la Mere qui l'a cõnu fi particulièrement, eftoient frappez de deux fortes paffions: la ioye de la voir dans ces hautes difpofitions, dilatoit leurs cœurs; & à mefme temps, la trifteffe de la perte que nous faifions, les refferroit.

Elle fut 24. heures en l'agonie, fans iamais perdre ny le iugement, ny la parole: Elle répõdoit à toutes les queftions qu'on luy faifoit, elle formoit tous les actes d'amour, de foumiffion, de refignation qu'on luy fuggeroit, & mefme en expirant elle [198] fit connoître qu'elle eftoit prefente à foy, & attentive à ce qu'on luy difoit.

Enfin le 4. iour d'Avril de l'année 1652. fur les 8. heures du foir, cette ame fainte faifant diuorce avec fon corps, quitta la terre pour mōter dans les Cieux: Sa face en mourant parut fi belle, & fi Angelique, qu'au lieu de nous donner de la douleur de fon depart, dit la Mere de l'Incarnation, Dieu nous fit fentir vn petit efchantillon de fa gloire, par vne onction interieure, fi douce & fi favoureuse, qu'elle remplit tous nos cœurs de ioye: Il n'y en eut pas vne de nous qui n'experimentât l'effect d'une grace tres-prefente, & fort extraordinaire, & comme vne certitude que nous auions vne bonne Aduocate aupres de Dieu. On fe fentoit porté à l'inuoyer, & en l'inuoquant on reffentoit le fruit de fa demande. Plusieurs ont fait cette experience depuis fa mort.

Son conuoy ne fe fit pas avec les pompes de l'Europe, mais avec tout ce qu'il y auoit d'honorable au

the Mother who knew her so intimately, "were struck with two sorts of passions: they dilated with joy, at seeing her in this exalted frame of mind; and at the same time they were stricken with sadness, at the loss we were undergoing."

She was for 24 hours in the death-agony, never losing either her reason or her speech the while. She answered all the questions that were asked her; performed all the acts of love, submission, and resignation that were suggested to her; and, even in dying, [198] signified that she was conscious and attentive to what was being said to her.

At length, on the 4th day of April of the year 1652, toward 8 o'clock in the evening, that sainted soul, divorcing itself from its body, left the earth to ascend into Heaven. "Her face at dying appeared so beautiful and so Angelic," says Mother de l'Incarnation, "that, instead of giving us grief at her departure, God made us perceive a little glimpse of her glory, by means of a spiritual unction, so sweet and savory that it filled all our hearts with joy. There was not one of us who did not experience the effect of a most present and extraordinary grace, and a virtual certainty that we had a good Advocate with God. There was a feeling that prompted one to invoke her, and upon doing so, one felt conscious of having her petition granted. Several have had that experience, since her death."

Her funeral was held, not with the pomp of Europe, but with all the honor the country could show her, and with all the affection and regret of the French and the Savages, who loved and cherished her during her life, and respect her as a saint after her death.

païs, avec toutes les affections, & tous les regrets des François, & des Sauvages qui l'aimoient, & qui la cheriffoient pendant fa vie, & qui la refpectent comme vne faincte apres fa mort.

[199] Vne heure apres, ou enuiron, que ce facré depoft fut mis en terre, vne perfonne digne de foy (dit la Mere qui a fait ces remarques) f'en allât pour quelque action de charité, à vne lieuë de Kebec, noftre chere defuncte luy apparut par vne vifion intellectuelle: Son port eftoit remply de majefté, fa face couuerte de rayons de lumiere & de gloire, fes yeux capables de confommer vn cœur; Il m'a affeuré (adjoûte-elle) que fes regards cauferent vn tel affaut d'amour de Dieu au fond de fon ame, qu'il en penfa mourir. Elle l'accompagna iufqu'au lieu où fa charité le portoit, & fe rendit encor prefente au retour, par vne façon fort interieure, mais tres-certaine, traitant avec luy par voye d'intelligence, fur des fujets particuliers dont ie ne puis parler.

Le lendemain, la mefme perfonne f'en allant à l'Ifle d'Orleans fur le grand Fleuve glacé, à deux lieuës de Kebec, le flux de la mer qui monte iufques-là, fauorifé de la chaleur du Printêps, auoit deftaché, & abyfmé quelques-vnes de ces glaces efpaiffes, qui chargêt tous les ans le grand fleuve de S. Laurens, & le froid de la nuit auoit formé vne petite croûte, ou vne petite [200] glace, fur ces endroits d'où les grandes eftoiêt parties. La perfonne dont nous parlons, marchant fur cette glace fort mince, fans y faire reflexion, noftre defuncte luy parlant au fond du cœur, luy dit clairemêt cette parole: Arrefte-toy. Il s'arrest, il leue les yeux qu'il tenoit baiffez, & regardant à l'entour de foy, il se vit enuironné d'eau

[199] "About an hour after this sacred trust had been consigned to the earth, a person worthy of credence" (these are the words of the Mother who made these notes) "was on his way to perform some deed of charity at a league's distance from Kebec, when our dear departed one appeared to him in a mental vision. Her bearing was full of majesty, her face suffused with rays of light and glory, and her eyes capable of subduing any heart. He assured me" (she adds) "that her looks caused in his inmost soul such an overpowering sensation of love to God, that he thought he would die of it. She accompanied him as far as the place whither his errand of mercy led him, and again manifested herself on his return, in a manner eminently spiritual, but very certain,—holding communication with him, through his understanding, in regard to private matters, of which I cannot speak.

"On the next day, when the same person was traveling to the Island of Orleans, over the frozen surface of the great River, two leagues away from Kebec, the tide, which rises as far up as that point, aided by the warmth of Spring, had detached and borne down some of those thick blocks of ice that every year fill the great river St. Lawrence; and the cold of night had formed a thin crust of [200] ice over those places from which those blocks had been separated. The person of whom we are speaking was inadvertently walking on this very thin ice, when our departed sister, speaking to his inner consciousness, uttered this word clearly, 'Stop!' He stopped, raised his eyes, which were before bent on the ground, and, looking around him, saw that he was encompassed on all sides by water. He pierced

de tous costez, il perce cette petite glace avec son baston, pour voir s'il n'y en auroit point vne autre plus espaisse au deffous, comme il arriue assez souvent, il ne trouue que des abyfmes sous foy: Il se recommande à celle qui l'auoit arresté, & tout faisy de crainte, il retourne au plustoit sur ses pas. Quand il fut en lieu d'affurance, il reconnut qu'il auoit marché vn long espace de chemin sur les eaux sans enfoncer; aussi ne luy sembloit-il pas qu'il marchât, tât il se sentoît supporté. En fin il a rendu témoignage que la Mere Marie de S. Ioseph luy auoit sauué la vie, qu'il ne pouuoit fortir de ce dâger sans miracle. Il l'appelle maintenât son Ange, assurant qu'il a receu depuis ce temps là de nouvelles faueurs de cette Ame d'élite.

Il trouue icy la fin des Memoires qui sont tombez entre mes mains, encore que ie sçache bien que le pays ne découure les graces & les faueurs extraordinaires qu'il reçoit de Dieu, qu'à tres-peu de personnes; si faut-il qu'il souffre, puis qu'il nous à dōné la peine de dressez en France la Relation, qu'on fasse part au public de ce petit thresor.

FIN.

the thin ice with his staff, to see if there was not a thicker layer underneath, as is often enough the case, but found only abysmal depths under him. Commending himself anew to her who had arrested his steps, and utterly overcome with fear, he retraced his course as rapidly as possible. When he was in a place of safety, he became aware that he had walked a long distance on the water without sinking into it; moreover it did not seem to him that he was walking, so strongly did he feel himself upheld. In fine, he rendered testimony that Mother Marie de St. Joseph had saved his life, and that he could not have escaped this danger without a miracle. He now calls her his Angel, declaring that since that time he has received new favors from this elect Soul."

I here reach the end of the Memoirs that have fallen into my hands. Although I am well aware that the country discloses to only a very few persons the extraordinary graces and favors that it receives from God, yet, since it has given us the trouble of preparing the Relation in France, it must permit us to communicate this little treasure to the public.

END.

LXXXII

JOURNAL DES PP. JÉSUITES

en l'année 1653

SOURCE: We follow the original MS., in Laval University library, Quebec.

Journal des Pères Jésuites, en l'année
1653.

IANUARIO 1653

2 hurons Enleuez.

LE 12 Arriue des 3 R. Iaques Andata, ai-
ach. qui apporte les letres, par lesquelles
nous apprenons la prise de deux Hurons
le 17. de Decembre a vne lieue des 3 R.

APRILI

Le 10^{me}. d'Auril le P. Charles Albanel & le
Sr. Lespiné retournent de leur hyuernement
de Tadoussac.

*Profession a L'hotel
Dieu.*

Le 15. La sœur de L'incarnation fait sa
profession aux Hospitalieres. le P. De Quen,
y dit la messe; le P. Vimont, y fit le sermon
& i'y Receu les vœux.

*16 françois quittent
Le pays et s'en-
fuyent.*

Le 21. Arriue en vn canot des Trois Ri-
uieres, La fontaine Cochon, qui apporta les
nouuelles de la fuite de 16. françois, quittans
le país.

Barré, enspesade. & La Montagne. soldats.

La Rose, seruiteur de M^r de La Poterie. &
Lespine.

Baudet, seruiteur de la Grandmesnil &
matelot.

Des Noyers.

La fond M.

Journal of the Jesuit Fathers, in the year
1653.

JANUARY, 1653.

ON the 12th, Jaques Andata, aiach Arrives from 3 Rivers, bringing letters by which we learn of the capture of two Hurons on the 17th of December, one league from 3 Rivers.

*2 hurons Carried
away.*

APRIL.

On the 10th of April, Father Charles Albanel and Sieur Lespiné return from their wintering at Tadoussac.

15th. Sister de L'incarnation makes her profession at the Hospital nuns'; Father De Quen said the mass; Father Vimont delivered the sermon, and I Received the vows.

*Profession at The
hotel Dieu.*

21st. Arrival, in a canoe from Three Rivers, of La fontaine Cochon, who brought the news of the flight of 16 frenchmen, who were leaving the country.

*16 frenchmen leave
The country and
flee.*

Barré, lance-corporal, and La Montagne, soldiers.

La Rose, a servant of Monsieur de La Poterie, and Lespine.

Baudet, servant of la Grandmesnil, and sailor.

Des Noyers.

La fond, Sailor.

Du Plessis.

La verdure. M.

La Montagne.

Sauary

La franchise.

Teste-Pelee seruiteur de la franchiseille

Coquelin M.

Des Lauriers

Paul Langlois. M.

Cinq Hurons pris... item. La nouuelle de la prise de 4 Hurons. Ahatrihoia & Horentaon: pris montans de Quebec aux Trois Riuieres, TeArenhont, qui estoit allé a la chasse des Trois Riuieres. Tsond&tannen, pris des le 29 du mois de Mars, apportant des letres des 3 R. a Quebec. il fut pris au dessous du Cap, par 20 Iroquois.

a. Dom. s'enfuyent. Le 27. La nuit du Samedy au Dimanche deux seruiteurs de M^r. Dauteuil prennent la fuite.

Le 29. M^r Charon est blesse a la gorge d'un coup de pistolet, dans son habitation de Lisle d'orleans, par vn assassinat de deux de ses seruiteurs.

M^r Lespiné se marie a Mad^{le}. Geneuieue Des Prez.

MAIO

Granges bruslées. Le 1^{er} arriue dans la chaloupe des Trois Riuieres. M^r Robineau M^r du Herisson & M^{re}. Charles Boiuin. qui apportent nouuelle d'un incendie de quelques granges le 23 d'Auril.

Le 7. on prend vn des hommes de M^r

Du Plessis.

La verdure, Sailor.

La Montagne.

Savary.

La franchise.

Teste-Pelee, servant of la francheville.

Coquelin, Sailor.

Des Lauriers.

Paul Langlois, Sailor.

Item, the news of the capture of 4 Hurons,— *Five Hurons taken.*

Ahatrihoia and Horentaon, taken while going up from Quebec to Three Rivers; TeArenhont, who had gone hunting at Three Rivers; Tsondoutannen, captured as long ago as the 29th of the month of March, while bringing letters from 3 Rivers to Quebec. He was taken below the Cape, by 20 Iroquois.

27th. During the night of Saturday to Sunday, two of Monsieur Dauteuil's servants take flight.

*2 Domestic run
away.*

29th. Monsieur Charon⁷ is wounded in the throat by a pistol shot, at his residence on The island of orleans,—by the murderous act of two of his servants.

Monsieur Lespiné is married to Mademoiselle Genevieve Des Prez.⁸

MAY.

On the 1st, arrival in the shallop from Three Rivers, of Monsieur Robineau, Monsieur du Herisson, and Master Charles Boivin, who bring news of the burning of some barns on the 23rd of April.

Barns burned.

On the 7th, one of Monsieur Charon's men

*fuiards pris, L'un
fait bourreau, l'autre
pendu..*

Charon. l'autre qui auoit fait l'assassin ayant fait & pris l'office de bourreau.

Le 10^{esme} Nous partons pour le voyage des Trois Riuieres. & fusmes de retour a Quebec le 23^{esme} iour du mesme mois. n'ayans point esté a Montreal, 1^o a cause que la fregate que appartient a la Communauté, deuoit faire auparavant le voyage de Tadoussac, comme plus necessaire. Lesperance dans laquelle nous montasmes aux 3 R. n'estant pas vn bastiment de la Communauté. 2^o. parceq. M^r le Gouverneur n'auoit aucune affaire a Montreal. 3^o. parcequil n'y auoit rien a porter a Montreal, tout leur ayant esté porté dez l'automne. 4^o parceque le peril du voyage a Montreal estant tres grand, on ne iugea pas a propos de l'entreprendre sans necessité.

*Domest. s'eschape de
Sillery.*

Le 12. ou plustost La nuit du 12^{esme} au 13^{esme}. Iaqucs Iunier s'eclipsa de Sillery. on le trouua de manque le matin du 13^{sme}. on eut des indices qu'il auoit passé la Riuere en canot, sans auoir rien emporté de la maison, sinon vne arquebuse. & quelque argent qui estoit a luy, enuiron cent ou deux cents liures.

*on reclame Les cinq
captifs Sokoquois..*

Le 26. On tient conseil au fort avec 4 ambassadeurs sauages, venus de la Nouvelle Angleterre qui auoient apporté vn letre de M^r. Iean Heliot ministre de ces cartiers la. laquelle letre tesmoignoit, que les quatre sauages pris comme Captifs de guerre l'automne precedent, par des Algonquins Atontrata'ron-

is arrested; the other, who had played the assassin, having performed and accepted the office of executioner.

*Fugitives taken:
one made hangman;
the other hanged.*

10th. We left for the journey to Three Rivers; and were back at Quebec on the 23rd day of the same month. We were not at Montreal: 1st, because the frigate, which belongs to the Community, was previously to make the voyage to Tadoussac, as being more necessary—the *esperance*, in which we went up to 3 Rivers, not being a vessel of the Community; 2nd, because Monsieur the Governor had no business at Montreal; 3rd, because there was nothing to carry to Montreal, all their [supplies] having been carried in the autumn; 4th, because, the peril of the voyage to Montreal being very great, it was not judged proper to undertake it without necessity.

On the 12th,—or, rather, during The night of the 12th to the 13th,—Jaques Junier disappeared from Sillery. He was found missing on the morning of the 13th. There were indications that he had crossed the River by canoe, without having carried anything away from the house, except an arquebus, and some money which was his own,—about a hundred or two hundred francs.⁹

*Domestic escapes
from Sillery.*

26th. A council is held at the fort with 4 savage ambassadors, come from New England, who had brought a letter from Mr. Jean Heliot, a minister in those quarters. This letter declared that the four savages taken as Captives of war in the preceding autumn by some

*The five Sokoquois
captives are de-
manded back.*

nons, n'estoient ny Sokoquinois, ny Iroquois : mais estoient alliez des Anglois. . . . La resolution du conseil tenu, fut que cette nation estoit amie, & alliee de longue main aux Montagnetz. Ces ambassadeurs auoient apporté 36. beaux grans coliers, pour les presens qu'ils firent, en action de grace de ce que leurs gens n'auoient pas esté traitez hostilement.

IUIIN

Nauires hollandois

Au commencement de May [*sc.* Iuin] arriue vn canot de Tadoussac, qui apporte la nouvelle qu'un nauire Hollandois y venoit y faire la retraite, & qu'il auoit retenu M^r Lespiné le 30 May.

Le 5^{me}. Iuin, on fait partir vn canot pour donner secours & conseil a M^r Bourdon. le P. De Quen, M^r La Tour, Guillaume Couillart Simon Guyon & St. Claude soldat.

*Iroquois au cap
rouge.*

Le 10^{me}. Les Iroquois ayans paru au Cap rouge, y tuent françois Boulé, l'ayans perce de trois coups de fusil, a l'estomac, a l'aine & a la cuisse, & luy ayans enleué la moitié de la chevelure. . . . De plus ils emmenerent vifs Pierre Garman, dit le Picard, & son fils, Charles de 8 ans. & vn ieune garçon, Hugues Le Cousturier de 23 ans. Ils repasserent la Riuiere en cinq canots.

Arriue la fregate de Tadoussac, qui apporte nouvelle de la deliurance de M^r Lespiné. le Nauire qui l'auoit retenu, estoit vn forban Hollandois, de 16 pieces de canon, de 35

Atontrata'ronnon Algonquins were neither Sokoquinois nor Iroquois, but allies of the English. . . . The ³ resolution of the council held was, that this nation was friendly and an ally of long standing to the Montagnais. These ambassadors had brought 36 fine large collars, for the gifts which they made, by way of giving thanks that their people had not been treated as enemies.

JUNE.

At the beginning of June, there arrives a canoe from Tadoussac, which brings the news that a Dutch ship came to that harbor for shelter, and that it had, on the 30th of May, detained Monsieur Lespiné.

Dutch ships.

On the 5th of June, a canoe is despatched in order to give aid and counsel to Monsieur Bourdon,—Father De Quen, Monsieur La Tour, Guillaume Couillart, Simon Guyon,¹⁰ and St. Claude, a soldier.

10th. The Iroquois, having appeared at Cap rouge, kill there françois Boulé, having pierced him with three gunshots,—in the stomach, in the groin, and in the thigh,—and having removed half of his scalp. . . . Besides, they lead away alive Pierre Garman, called "le Picard,"¹¹ and his son Charles, 8 years old; also a young man, Hugues Le Cousturier, of 23 years. They crossed the River again in five canoes.

Iroquois at cap rouge.

The frigate arrives from Tadoussac, bringing news of the deliverance of Monsieur Lespiné. The Ship which had detained him

hommes. qui ayant mouillé au Moulin Baude, y traita avec les sauuages.

Le 14. arriue la barque des 3 Riuieres, qui apporte les nouuelles:

*Prises de part et
d'autre aux 3. Riu.*

1^o de françois La Meslee tué par les Iroquois, le 28^{me} du mois de May, dans la Commune. par 20 ennemis.

2^o de Guillaumet qui auoit eu les iambes rompues par vn canon qui se creua, en le tirant le mesme iour.

3^o d'un Nipissiriniien eschappé des mains des ennemis, leq^l. auoit esté pris luy trentiesme, dans le lac des Nipissiriniens, au dessus du sault de L'esturgeon, par 20 Iroquois.

4^o. d'un Huron, nommé Onatiaxé, pris captif par des ennemis, dans les champs de M^r de La Poterie le 30^{me}. May.

*hurons renegats pris
Et bruslez.
Ibidem*

5^o. de trois Hurons renegats, pris captifs, & d'un Sonnantxe'ronnon tué sur la place, & de Onatiaxe recouré de leurs mains, par 12 Sauuages, Hurons & Algonquins. Les 3 Hurons pris captifs estoient Ontannaoche, iadis de St Michel. Ochahend, iadis de Ationnontet-sia, qui ambo igne cremati sunt. le troisieme ayant eu la vie, nommé [blank space]

6^o. de Cailleteau tué au Cap de La Magdelene de lundy de la Pentecoste, second iour de Iuin, proche du fort.

Iroq. mis en deroute.

7^o. de la desroute, ou plustost du pillage de vint ou trente Iroquois, poursuivis par les Hurons, le 9^{me} de Iuin.

was a Dutch pirate of 16 guns, with 35 men,—which, having anchored at Moulin Baude, traded there with the savages.

On the 14th, the bark from 3 Rivers arrives, bringing the news:—

1st, concerning françois La Meslee, killed by the Iroquois on the 28th of the month of May, on the Common lands, by 20 enemies;

2nd, concerning Guillaumet, who had had his legs broken by the bursting of a cannon while he was firing it, on the same day;

3rd, about a Nipissirinien, escaped from the hands of the enemies, who had been taken, he the thirtieth, in the lake of the Nipissiriens, above the sault de L'esturgeon, by 20 Iroquois;

4th, of a Huron, named Onatiawe, taken captive by some enemies in the fields of Monsieur de La Poterie, on the 30th of May;

5th, of three renegade Hurons, taken captive, of a Sonnontwe'ronnon killed on the spot, and of Onatiawe recovered from their hands by 12 Savages, Hurons and Algonquins. The 3 Hurons taken captive were Ontannaoche, formerly of St. Michel; Ocha-hend, formerly of Ationnontetsia; *qui ambo igne cremati sunt*. The third received his life; he was named [blank space];

6th, of Cailleteau, killed at Cap de La Magdelene on Whitsun-monday, the second day of June, near the fort;

7th, of the defeat,—or, rather, of the plunder,—of twenty or thirty Iroquois, pursued by the Hurons, on the 9th of June.

Captures on both sides at 3 Rivers.

*Renegade hurons captured And burned.
Ibidem.*

Iroquois routed.

Le 15 part la fregate pour Montreal. Maître Charles Boiwin & Charles Panie vont au secours des 3 Riuieres.

Le 20 Le flibot commandé par M^{re} Iean Langlois part de Quebec pour la pesche, & porte nos premieres lettres en france.

Le 21. A8eia8a & Ochia8arenton'k8i pris captifs aux 3. R.

IULIO

*Chaple. de la Visi-
tāon, En L'isle —*

Le 2^{me}. La chapelle de l'isle d'orleans fut beniste sub titulo Visitationis B. Virginis. par le P. Hierosme Lallemant.

Le Camp volant Commandé par Eustache Lambert part de Sillery. 50 françois.

Le 9. le P. Richard arriue avec le s^r De Groseliers, de L'Acadie, d'avec M^r de la Tour.

Pourparler de paix.

Le 15. la fregate arriue de Montreal, avec les Nouuelles d'un pourparler de Paix avec les onnontae'ronnon. ausquel A8en're de Tehaontiaiehen seruoit de truchement, & le P. Le Moine parloit pour les françois.

fugitifs q. perissent.

Le 20. arriuerent a Quebec dix ou onze chaloupes tant de Sauvages de Gaspé, que des Etechemins, & Montagnets, allans en guerre contre les Iroquois qui apportèrent lettres de M^r de La Tour & nouuelles 1^o que les Anglois de la Nouvelle Angleterre entreprennoit la guerre, contre les Hollandois de la Nouvelle Hollande & contre les Iroquois. 2^o que des françois fugitifs des Trois Riuieres, quantité estoient morts de miseres. Paul La franchise, Sauary. Des Lauriers. La font. & qu'il

On the 15th, the frigate sails for Montreal. Master Charles Boivin and Charles Panie go to the assistance of 3 Rivers.

20th. The flyboat commanded by Master Jean Langlois leaves Quebec for the fishery and carries our first letters to france.

21st. Aweiawa and Ochiawarenton'kwi taken captive at 3 Rivers.

JULY.

2nd. The chapel on the island of orleans was blessed *sub titulo Visitationis Beatæ Virginis*, by Father Hierosme Lallemant. *Chapel of the Visitation, On The island.*

The flying Camp, Commanded by Eustache Lambert, starts from Sillery; 50 frenchmen.

On the 9th, Father Richard arrives with sieur De Groseliers, from Acadia,—from Monsieur de la Tour.

On the 15th, the frigate arrives from Montreal, with the News of a Peace negotiation with the onnontae'ronnon, for whom Awen're of Tehaontiaiechen served as interpreter; and Father Le Moine spoke for the french.

Negotiation for peace.

On the 20th, ten or eleven shallops arrived at Quebec,—Savages from Gaspé, and some Etechemins and Montagnais, going to war against the Iroquois. These brought letters from Monsieur de La Tour, and news: 1st, that the English of New England were undertaking war against the Dutch of New Holland and against the Iroquois. 2nd, that, of the french fugitives from Three Rivers, several had died from destitution,—Paul La franchise, Savary, Des Lauriers, La font; and that

Fugitives who perished.

y auoit des marques qu'ils s'estoient mangez les vns, les autres.

Le 29. Neuf chaloupes de Sauvages partent pour aller en guerre du costé des 3 R. & sept canots. & P. Bailloquet avec eux.

Le 31. arriue vn canot des Trois Riuieres, qui nous apporte la Nouvelle de l'arriuee de trois canots, du païs des Hurons. scauoir Aennons, Huron. Mangsch, Nipissiriniens. Matstisson, que les Hurons appellent Ondaenronk, Eenta8ai & Totraenchiarak. Andarahi'ronnons. & deux Ondata8asak vel 8ta8ak; scauoir Teóchia8enté & Otontagonen. lesquels sept sauages ont apporté nouuelles que toutes les Nations Algonquines s'assemblent avec ce qui reste de la Nation du Petun, & de la Nation Neutre, a A,otonatendie, a trois iournees au dessus du sault Skia,é. tirant vers le sud. Ceux de la Nation du Petun ont hyuerné a Tea,onto'rai les Neutres, au nombre de 800, a sken'chio,e, vers Te,o'chanontian, lesquelles deux Nations se doiuent rendre l'automne prochain a A,otonatendia où dez maintenant ils sont mille hommes scauoir

400 Ondatonateni,

200 8ta8ak. ou cheueux releuez.

100 tant A8e,atsi8aen'ronnons, que de la Nation d'A'cha8i.

200 Enskia,e'ronnons.

100 tant A8echisae'ronnons que Achir8achronnon.

Cest Acha8i qui conduit toute cette affaire.

*Diuerſes Nations,
qui s'unissent contre
L'Iroq.*

there were indications that they had eaten one another.

29th. Nine shallops and seven canoes of Savages start to go to war, in the direction of 3 Rivers; and Father Bailloquet with them.

On the 31st, a canoe from Three Rivers arrives, which brings us the News of the arrival of three canoes from the country of the Hurons,—to wit, Aennons, a Huron; Mangouch, a Nipissirini; Matoutisson, whom the Hurons call Ondaenronk; Eentawai and Totraenchiarak, Andarahi'ronnons; and two Ondatawawak, *vel* Outawak, to wit, Teóchiawenté and Otontagonen. These seven savages have brought news that all the Algonquin Nations are assembling, with what remains of the Tobacco Nation and of the Neutral Nation, at A,otonatendie, three days' journey above the sault Skia,é, toward the south. Those of the Tobacco Nation have wintered at Tea,onto'rai; the Neutrals, to the number of 800, at sken'chio,e, toward Te,o'chanontian; these two Nations are to betake themselves next autumn to A,otonatendia, where even now they number a thousand men,—to wit,

400 Ondatonateni;

200 Outawak, or cheveux relevez;

100 Awe,atsiwaen'ronnons, and people from the Nation of A'chawi;

200 Enskia,e'ronnons;

100 Awechisae'ronnons and Achirwachronnon.

Achawi is the one who is directing all this affair.¹²

*Various Nations
uniting against The
Iroquois.*

AUGUSTO

Le 3^{me} la chaloupe de Maistre Abraham apporte les Nouuelles de l'arriuee du P Lyonne a Tadoussac, dans le Capitaine Poulet.

*Le P. Mercier
Superieur.*

Le 6^{me}. a 4 heures & demie du matin, arriua le P. Lyonne, & nos letres. le soir auant soupper, dans le refectoir, ie declaré que le Pere françois *Le Mercier* estoit nommé superieur par N. R. P. G^{ral}. & a cause que la bulle du *Pape, du triennat des Superieurs*, m'obligeoit de me demettre sans delay; attendant la venue du P. Le Mercier, des trois Riuieres, ie nommay pour Vice superieur le P. Hierosme Lallemant.

Le 8. le Capitaine Poulet mouilla l'ancre a Quebec.

Le 9. arriua la chaloupe de Montreal, qui apporte la nouvelle de Michel Noela tué par les Iroquois le 20 de Iuillet. & d'un canot de deux ennemis, venu le 21^{me} Iuillet, pour traiter de paix, dont l'un estoit. Onneiiochronnon nommé Tehoatirhon l'autre, un Huron d'onnonta, e.

fut faite & declarée la Nomination de M^r. Dailleboust au syndicate.

Thomas Hayot, adiointe du Cap Rouge y compris Sillery.

M^r de Tilly de la Coste s^{te}. Geneuieue.

M^r Denis de Quebec.

le S^r. La Meslée de la Coste de Nostre D. des Anges.

AUGUST.

On the 3rd, Master Abraham's shallop brings News of the arrival of Father Lyonne at Tadoussac, with Captain Poulet.

On the 6th, Father Lyonne and our letters arrived at half-past 4 o'clock in the morning. At evening before supper, in the refectory, I declared that Father François *Le Mercier* was appointed superior by Our Reverend Father General; and,—because the bull of the *Pope concerning the triennial term of Superiors* obliged me to resign without delay,—pending the coming of Father *Le Mercier* from three Rivers, I appointed Father Hierosme Lalle-mant Vice-superior.

*Father Mercier
Superior.*

On the 8th, Captain Poulet anchored at Quebec.

On the 9th, the shallop from Montreal arrived, bringing news about Michel Noela, killed by the Iroquois on the 20th of July; and about a canoe with two enemies, who came on the 21st of July to treat for peace,—one of whom was an Onneichronnon named Tehoatirhon; the other, a Huron from onnonta, e.

The Appointment of Monsieur Dailleboust to the syndicate was made and announced.

Thomas Hayot, deputy from Cap Rouge, including Sillery.

Monsieur de Tilly from Coste Ste. Genevieve.

Monsieur Denis, from Quebec.

Sieur La Meslée, from Coste de Nostre Dame des Anges.

Guill. Peltier. de Beauport.

françois Belanger de la Longue Pointe

Pierre Picard du Cap Tourmente.

M^r Buisson de la Coste de Lauson.

*Iubilé 1653.
Demandé & obtenu
par Les prelates.*

*Pour l'Autorité de
Monsr. l'Archev. de
rouën en ce päys
et
du Vicariat gñal du
Superr. de nōe
Compie.*

Le 15. d'Aoust fut annoncé le Iubilé sous
l'Autorité de Mons^r l'Archevesque de rouën,
qui en auoit icy enuoyé le mandement de le
publier, son mandement doit estre conserué
dans les Archiues comme piece authentique
de *la continuation de possession* que le susdit
seign^r. Archevesque a desia prise par quel-
ques autres actes du gouuernem^t spirituel de
ce päys, cette publication toutesfois du Iubilé
sous son nom & autorité est le premier acte,
qui aye paru notoirement dans le päys: qui
est L'autant plv^f authentique, qu'il s'est
fait en la presence du Gouverneur, ipso non
repugnante (Immo ipso præmonito & con-
sentiente quod tamen non est passim euul-
gandum) & In maxima populi frequentia,
qui en suite a gagné ce Iubilé, lequel ne
pouuoit, icy estre gagné autrement, le
pape ne l'accordant qu'aux suiets des Pre-
lats qui le luy demandoient pour leurs
Diocesesins.

Sur quoy est a remarquer que n'y ayant eu
raport a aucun Euesque pour le Gouverne-
ment spirituel de ce pays iusques en l'an 1647.
il fut pour lors considéré a l'occasion des ves-
tures & professions des religieuses, qu'en ne
pouuoit s'en passer, & la susdite année le p.

Guillaume Peltier, from Beauport.

françois Belanger, from Longue Pointe.

Pierre Picard, from Cap Tourmente.

Monsieur Buisson from Coste de Lauson.¹³

On the 15th of August, the Jubilee was announced under the Authority of Monseigneur the Archbishop of rouen, who had sent hither the order to publish it. His order is to be preserved in the Archives, as an authentic document for *the continuity of possession* which the aforesaid lord Archbishop has already assumed by some other acts of spiritual government over this country. However, this publication of the Jubilee under his name and authority is the first act which has appeared conspicuously in the country; it is more fully authenticated because it was declared in the presence of the Governor, *ipso non repugnante* (*Immo ipso præmonito et consentiente—quod tamen non est passim evulgandum*), *et In maxima populi frequentia*, who subsequently gained this Jubilee, which could not here be otherwise obtained—the pope granting it only to the subjects of Prelates who requested it from him for their Diocesans.

Upon this matter it is to be remarked that, as no relations had been formed with any Bishop regarding the spiritual Government of this country until the year 1647, it was then considered, on occasion of the investitures and professions of the nuns, that we could not dispense therewith; and in the

*Jubilee, 1653.
Requested and obtained by The
prelates.*

*Concerning the
Authority of Mon-
seigneur the Arch-
bishop of rouen in
this country,
and
the office of Vicar-
general for the
Superior of our
Society.*

*Le P. Vimont
consulte en fee.
sur ce fait.*

Vimont passant en france fut sur tout chargé de cette affaire, pour l'assurance des professions des religieuses: le p Vimont apres auoir consulté rome, les principaux Peres de nôe Comp^{ie}. de la maison Professe & du College, le sens plvf commun fut qu'il falloit s'adresser & attacher a M. de roüen; ensuite le p^r. Vimont s'adressa au p. pingolet pour lors rect^r. du College de roüen par la faueur & assistance duquel on obtint de M. l'Arch. de roüen l'Ancien, lettre de grands vicaires, ce qui estant apporté icy avec les lettres & les resolutions de tous nos PP confirmatiues de ce que dessvf on proceda avec assurance a receuoir les professions des religieuses: on ne Iugea pas toutesfois a propos de faire encore esclater beaucoup au dehors cette affaire.

*Le R. P. Superiv. gd
Vicar de Larch. de
roüen.*

Depuis Mondit S^r. l'Arch. de roüen enuoya vne patente bien ample, adressée au r. p. Assistant par laquelle il establissoit le super^r. de la mission son Vicaire G^{nal} avec toutes les precautions possibles pour le bien de nostre Comp^{ie}. & le dit s^r. Arch. estant mort cette année 1653. son nepueu successeur en sa Charge & qui du viuant de son oncle auoit esté son Coädiuteur, enuoya vne semblable patente a celle de son oncle au r. p. Assistant, qui nvf fut icy apportés avec le mandem^t. pour la publicäon du Iubilé selon ce que dessus.

aforesaid year, father Vimont, going over to france, was especially charged with this business, to secure the validity of the nuns' professions. Father Vimont, after having consulted rome and the principal Fathers of our Society,—of the Professed house and of the College,—the very general opinion was that it was necessary to address and attach ourselves to Monseigneur of rouen. Next, father Vimont applied to father pingeolet, then rector of the College of rouen, by whose favor and assistance we obtained from Monseigneur the Archbishop of rouen, the Elder, a letter [with powers as] grand vicar. This document being brought hither, along with the letters and the resolutions of all our Fathers in ratification of the foregoing, we proceeded with confidence to receive the nuns' professions. We did not, however, Judge it proper, as yet, to noise this matter abroad to much extent.

Afterward, Monseigneur the Archbishop of rouen sent letters patent, sufficiently ample, addressed to the reverend father Assistant,—whereby he established the superior of the mission as his Vicar-General, with all possible precautions for the benefit of our Society. Moreover, the said lord Archbishop having died in this year, 1653, his nephew,—who is his successor in Office, and who during his uncle's lifetime had been his Coadjutor—sent a patent similar to his uncle's, to the reverend father Assistant, which was brought hither to us, along with the order for the publication of the Jubilee as above.

*Father Vimont takes
counsel upon this
matter in france.*

*The Reverend
Father Superior
grand Vicar of The
archbishop of rouen.*

On a de plv f a noter que le susdit nepueu successeur, estant Coadiuteur de son Oncle donna lettre Dimissoire au sieur Gendron pour recevoir les ordres l'an 1652. & ce en considération qu'il estoit son subiect pour auoir demeure enuiron 10. ans en ce pays: le mesme depuis la mort de son oncle a donné vn autre mandat pour faire Inquisition sur la vie & s^t. mort de nos Peres, de sorte que tout cela mis ensemble a fait Iuger que la chose estoit venue a sa maturité pour la faire doresnauant paroistre & esclater au dehors grand besoin seroit, ce qui s'est fait nunc primū par la publication susdite du Iubilé sous le nom & autorité de Mondit Seign^r. Archeuesque de roüen qui fut qualifié nostre prelat ce Iour-la 15. d'Aoust en la presence comme dit est, de Mons^r. le gouuern^r. & de tout le peuple assemblé, pendant la grande messe.

*17 Iroquois tuez ou
blessez ou mis en
fuite.*

Le 21. Ariue vn canot de Mon-real qui nous apporte la nouvelle que 30 hurons s'estans iettez heureusement sur une troupe de 17 Iroquois Annieñeronen qui estoit en ambuscade derriere L'Isle de S^t. Heléne pour surprendre des françois qui fauchoient dans vne prairie, les ont mis, en deroute, en ont tué vn sur la place, pris cinq en vie dont 4. sont Annieñer'onon et le cinq. vn huron autrefois de S^t. François Xauier, deux hurons ont esté tuez et 2 griefuement blessez. on a appris de ces captifs 1^o. que les onontae'ronon

It should be also noted that the aforesaid nephew and successor, while Coadjutor to his Uncle, gave a letter of Dismissal to sieur Gendron, that he might receive orders, in the year 1652,—and this in view of the fact that the latter was his subject, on account of having resided about 10 years in this country. The same, since his uncle's death, has given another order,—one for making an Inquiry regarding the lives and blessed deaths of our Fathers. In consequence, all that put together has led us to Conclude that the matter had come to its maturity,—so that, henceforth, there would be great need of publishing and displaying it abroad. This has been done, *nunc primum*, by the aforesaid publication of the Jubilee under the name and authority of Monseigneur the Archbishop of rouen, who was qualified as our prelate on that Day, 15th of August, in the presence, as we have said, of Monsieur the governor, and of all the assembled people, during high mass.¹⁴

21st. A canoe arrives from Mon-real, bringing us the news that 30 hurons, having successfully fallen upon a band of 17 Annieñeronen Iroquois,—who were in ambush behind The Island of St. Heléne, in order to surprise some french who were mowing in a meadow,—put them to confusion, killed one on the spot, and took five alive,—4 of whom are Annieñer'onon, and the fifth a huron, formerly from St. François Xavier. Two hurons have been killed, and 2 grievously wounded. We have learned by these captives: 1st, that

17 Iroquois killed or wounded or put to flight.

*guerre des Anglois
et hollandois En
Canada*

et les onneischtronon veulent tout de bon la paix 2. qu'une nation proche des Anglois fait la guerre aux Annieñer'. 3. que les Annieñer'. font ligue offensive et defensive avec Les Hollandois contre les Anglois qui leur ont declaré la guerre et pour cet effet s'assemblent tous dans un mesme bourg: 4. que les Andasto,er'. prennent la guerre entre l'Annien,e'r & le Sonont8en'r. 5. que 600. la plus part Annien,e'r. estoient partis depuis 30 iours, pour aller en guerre contre les 3. Riuieres.

*P. poncet pris pr.
Les Iroq. près de
Sillery.*

Vne heure apres cette nouuelle, le P. de Quen nous apporte la calotte de P. Poncet, & la nouuelle de sa prise par les Iroquois, vn peu au dessus de sillery, ou la charité l'auoit porté, il fut emmené vif avec vn autre françois, qui coupoit ses bleds, le 20 du courant sur les 4 a 5. heures du soir 32. françois des plus considerables de kebec s'embarquent dans 6. canots pour courir apres l'ennemy, & luy aller dresser une ambuscade dans le lac de St. Pierre.

Ieunes hurons pris.

Par les lettres des 3. Riuieres nous apprenons que le 16. du mesme deux ieunes hurons ont este pris dans vne isle des 3. R. par 8. Iroquois.

*500 agnies autour
des trois riuieres.*

Le 22. Sur le matin vn huron est blessé aux trois Riu. sur le costeau par vne petit troupe d'Iroquois auancoueurs d'une armée de 500-Annien,er. Sur les 8. heur. on apperçoit

the onontae'ronon and the onneiouchtronon desire peace in good earnest; 2nd, that a nation near the English is making war on the Annieñer'onnonns; 3rd, that the Annieñer'onnonns are making a league, offensive and defensive, with The Dutch against the English, who have declared war on them, and are all assembling, for this purpose, in the same village; 4th, that the Andasto'er'onnonns are engaging in war between the Annien,e'ronnonns and the Sonontwen'ronnonns; 5th, that 600,—mostly Annien,e'ronnonns,—had started, 30 days ago, to attack 3 Rivers.

*War of the English
and dutch In
Canada.*

An hour after this news, Father de Quen brings us Father Poncet's skullcap, and the news of his capture by the Iroquois, a little above sillery, whither charity had led him. He was carried away alive,—with another frenchman, who was cutting his wheat,—on the 20th instant, about 4 or 5 o'clock in the afternoon. 32 frenchmen, among the most prominent persons in Kebec, embark in 6 canoes, in order to pursue the enemy, and to lay an ambush for him in lake St. Pierre.

*Father poncet taken
by The Iroquois near
Sillery.*

By letters from 3 Rivers, we learn that, on the 16th of the same month, two young hurons were captured on an island at 3 Rivers, by 8 Iroquois.

*Young hurons
captured.*

22nd. Toward morning, a huron is wounded on the hillside at three Rivers, by a small band of Iroquois, precursors of an army of 500 Annien,eronnonns. About 8 o'clock, a canoe is perceived, which was passing a league above three Rivers from the South

*500 agniez about
three rivers.*

vn canot qui passoit a vne lieue au dessus des trois R. du Sud au costé du nort, vn canot va a la decouuert, puis une chaloupe bien equipée qui ayant passe. la briqueterie voit plus de 30 canots Iroquois du costé du nord et 9. du costé du sud; elle fut en grand danger, et belle Poire qui commandoit se comporta vaillamment avec sa troupe. deux Iroquois tués pas vn des françois blessé.

*Les Trois Riuieres
assiégées par les
Iroquois.*

La nuit la troupe de françois qui auoit poursuiuy ceux qui emmenoiient Le P Poncet, ariue au cap, ils apprennent que les trois R. sont assiegées qu'on s'est battu tout le iour, Caron s'embarque dans un canot pour aller sur le lieu, il ariue heureusement vers la mynuit, il trouue tout en bon estat, et les habitans pleins de courage. Le siege dure plus de 8. iours cependant ils font le degast dans les champs mettant le feu aux pois desia arrachez, et au blé coupé et a nostre redoute du costeau tiënt le bestail entre autres, 8. bestes a corne qui appartenoient a nos peres, . . .

le 23.

Degast par les Iroq.

Les 32 françois ariuent aux trois R. les Iroq. parlent de paix ils se meslent avec les hurons, ils promettent de rendre le Pere Poncet, on leur promet de donner la vie aux prison.

Iubile commence.

Annien, er. pris a Mon-real; . . . *Le 30
commence le Iubilé.*

SEPTEMBRE

le premier. on escrit des 3. R. que le 30. du passé la troupe des hurons victorieux, qui

toward the north. A canoe goes to reconnoiter; then a shallop, well equipped, which having passed the brick-yard, sees more than 30 Iroquois canoes on the north side and 9 on the south side. It was in great danger, and belle Poire, who was in command, behaved valiantly with his troop. Two Iroquois were killed; not one of the french wounded.

In the night, the band of frenchmen who had pursued those who were carrying away Father Poncet, arrives at the cape. They learn that three Rivers is besieged, and that there has been fighting all day. Caron embarks in a canoe, in order to reach the spot: he safely arrives, toward midnight; he finds everything in good condition, and the inhabitants full of courage. The siege lasts more than 8 days; meanwhile they devastate the fields, setting fire to the peas already torn up, and to the cut corn; and at our redout on the hillside they kill the cattle,—among others, 8 horned beasts which belonged to our fathers. . . . The 32 frenchmen arrive at three Rivers, and the Iroquois speak of peace; they mingle with the hurons; they promise to give up Father Poncet, and we promise them to spare the life of the Annien,eronnon prisoners taken at Monreal. . . . *On the 30th, the Jubilee begins.*

Three Rivers besieged by the Iroquois.

*The 23rd.
Devastation by the Iroquois.*

Jubilee begins.

SEPTEMBER.

On the first, word is sent from 3 Rivers that, on the 30th of last month, the troop of victorious hurons who were coming from

venoient de Mon-real avec leur prisonniers — tomba entre les mains des Iroq. avec 4. ononta,er. qui venoient avec force presens de castor & de colliers pour faire la paix — la plus part des presens furent pillées; . . . Neanmoins les Annien,er. n'en deuienne^t. pas plus insolens parlent tousiours de paix; le chef de l'armée nommé teharihogen reçoit des presens de Mons. boucher capit. du bourg *en faueur de la vie du P. Poncet*, il sembarque avec 3. canots pour courir apres ceux qui l'emmemoient. Le siege se dissipe et les Iroq. s'en vont sans ordre 6. ou 7. *demeurent* avec les françois, & descendent a Kebec, avec les ononta,er.

*presens pour sauuer
La vie au P. poncet.*

Siege dissipé.

Le 4. vne barque part des trois Riu. pour Mon-réal avec le Pere bailloquet, pour ramener le P. Claude Pijart. le mesme iour, les onnonta,er. font leur presens a l'Isle d'orleans, ou se trouue M^r. le gouuerneur, M^r. d Ailleboust &c

Iubilé de deux mois.

Le 7. on fait des presens reciproques aux onnonta,er. on continue les processions du iubilé, commencé le dimanche precedent pour durer deux mois.

Le 8. Les onnont. voyent la procession, ou il y auoit plus de 400. fuseliers en bel ordre. ils partent pour les 3. R.

Le 18. 2. hurons arriuent d'Agnée. A8ea-sissen party avec son fils — apres l'armée.

Mon-real with their prisoners fell into the hands of the Iroquois, along with 4 ononta,eronnons, who were coming with many presents of beaver and collars, in order to make peace. Most of the presents were plundered. . . . Nevertheless, the Annien,eronnons become none the more insolent, but continually speak of peace. The chief of the army, named teharihogen, receives presents from Monsieur boucher, captain of the village, *in behalf of the life of Father Poncet*. He embarks with 3 canoes, in order to pursue those who were carrying away the Father. The siege is broken up, and the Iroquois go away in disorder; 6 or 7 stay with the french, and go down to Kebec with the ononta,eronnons.

*Presents to save
Father poncet's life.*

Siege broken up.

On the 4th, a bark leaves three Rivers for Mon-réal, with Father bailloquet, in order to bring back Father Claude Pijart. On the same day, the onnonta,eronnons make their presents at the Island of orleans, where are Monsieur the governor, Monsieur d'Ailleboust, and others.

On the 7th, mutual gifts are exchanged with the onnonta,eronnons. The processions of the jubilee are continued, which began the preceding sunday, to last two months. *Two months' Jubilee.*

8th. The onnonta,eronnons see the procession, in which there were more than 400 fusiliers in fine order. They leave for 3 Rivers.

18th. 2 hurons arrive from Agnée. Aweawissen started with his son, after the army.

OCTOBRE.

Le 24. Le P. Poncet ariue dans vn mechant canot, conduit par quelques Iroquois, a Mon-real habillé en Hollandois.

P. Poncet delivré. Le 28. il arriue aux trois Riu. dans le flibot rencontré aux Isles de Richelieu

NOUEMBRE

4. Le P. ariue a Quebecq. avec le P. Richard; Mons. boucher etc. 7. Iroquois on tira 3. coups de canon.

Le 6. Les Annien, e'r font leur presens au nombre de 16.

Le 9. on leur fait des presens mutuels 23. presens, les meres de l'hospital leur font festin, et nous vers le soir.

Le P. Ios. du Perron repasse en france... Le 10 le Capitaine Pointel leue l'Ancre, embarque le P. Ioseph du Peron. L'hyuer commence tout de bon.

Te Deum pr La paix. L'onz. on chante la messe solemnelle en action de grace. Les Iroquois vont coucher a Sillery, et le P. la place qui monte aux trois Riuieres en la place du P. Richard.

*P. La place releue
Le P. Richard aux
3. R.*

Le 13. Mons. d'Espiné de Tadoussac, avec des Lettres du P. Albanel, descendu pour aller dans le Saguenay.

Le 14. il neige puissamment. le 15. le P. la place ariue aux 3. R.

Le 17. nouuelle des 3. Riuieres d'un Iroquois et d'un sauage de la nation des loups tüz vers mon-real par quelques hurons.

OCTOBER.

24th. Father Poncet arrives — in a wretched canoe, conducted by some Iroquois — at Mon-real; he is dressed in Dutch fashion.

On the 28th, he arrives at three Rivers, in the flyboat, which they encountered among the Isles of Richelieu.

*Father Poncet
delivered.*

NOVEMBER.

4. The Father arrives at Quebecq with Father Richard, Monsieur boucher, and 7 Iroquois; 3 guns were fired.

6th. The Annien,e'ronnons make their presents, to the number of 16.

On the 9th, we make them presents in return: 23 presents. The hospital mothers make them a feast; we do the same, toward evening.

On the 10th, Captain Pointel weighs Anchor; Father Joseph du Peron embarks. The winter begins in good earnest.

*Father Joseph du
Perron goes back
to france.*

On the eleventh, solemn mass is sung, by way of thanksgiving. The Iroquois go to spend the night at Sillery; also Father la place, who goes up to three Rivers in place of Father Richard.

*Te Deum, on account
of The peace.*

*Father La place
relieves Father
Richard at 3 Rivers.*

On the 13th, arrives Monsieur d'Espiné, from Tadoussac, with Letters from Father Albanel, who went thither to go into the Saguenay.

On the 14th, it snows heavily. On the 15th, Father la place arrives at 3 Rivers.

On the 17th, news from 3 Rivers concern-

Les hurons et les Algonq. font leur present
Aux Annien,er. aux 3. R.

*Agniez Veulent
attirer Les Hurons
chez eux.*

Le 18. La barque ariue des 3. Riu. avec
les 3. meurtriers mis aux fers et enuoyez a
Mons. le gouuer. avec des presens de la part
des Annien,er. pour leur deliurance. . . .
Le mesme iour les Anciens des hurons
produisent 3. colliers reçeus en cachette de
Teharihogen capit. Annie,n,er. *pour attirer les
hurons en leur päs.*

*Meurtres des-
auouez.*

Le 19 on tient conseil sur cette affaire chez
nous a Quebecq. Mr. le gouuerneur conclud
de faire faire aux 3. R. dans l'occasion 3
presens de sa part aux Annien,er. le premier
pour temoigner qu'il *desauoüe les meurtres* faits
par les hurons. Le 2. pour faire scauoir qu'il
a cognoissance des presens faits par eux aux
hurons en secret. Le 3. pour temoigner que
quoyque fassent les hurons et Alg. nous
demeurerons tousiours en paix avec eux.
Le mesme 19. Teharihogen s'embarque aux 3.
R. avec les sieurs des Mares et la fleur pour
Annie,n,e Les autres Annien,er. relachent
s'estant embarqués et restoi' aux 3. R. Le 23.

*Sauuage de la nation
du Loup aux 3. Riu.*

le Flibot ariue de Mon-real aux 3. R. et amene
un sauuage de la *nation du loup* habillé a
l'Europeane, parent du Mahingan tué par les
hurons; on reçoit nouuelle de la mort ou
prise, ou naufrage de Iolycour et d'Aras
habitans de Monreal.

ing an Iroquois and a savage of the nation of the wolves, who were killed near mon-real by some hurons.

The hurons and the Algonquins make their present To the Annien,eronnons at 3 Rivers.

18th. The bark arrives from 3 Rivers, with the 3 murderers put in irons and sent to Monsieur the governor, with presents from the Annien,eronnons for their deliverance. . . .

On the same day, the Elders of the hurons produce 3 collars received in secret from Teharihogen, an Annie,neronnon captain, in order to attract the hurons into their country.

*Agniez Wish to
attract The Hurons
among them.*

On the 19th, a council is held with reference to this business, at our house at Quebecq. Monsieur the governor resolves to have 3 presents delivered at 3 Rivers in due season, on his behalf, to the Annien,eronnons: the first, to certify that he *disavows the murders* committed by the hurons; the 2nd, to let it be known that he has knowledge of the presents made by them to the hurons in secret; the 3rd, to declare that whatever the hurons and Algonquins may do, we shall always remain at peace with them. On the same 19th, Teharihogen embarks at 3 Rivers with sieurs des Mares and la fleur, for Annie,ne. The other Annien,eronnons having embarked, put back and remained at 3 Rivers. 23rd. The Flyboat arrives at 3 Rivers from Mon-real, and brings a savage from the *nation of the wolf*, dressed in European style,—a kinsman of the Mahingan who was killed by the hurons. We receive news of the death, or

Murders disavowed.

*Savage of the Wolf
nation at 3 Rivers.*

Le 27. le flibot esta^t. party pour Quebecq le 25. est contraint pour les glaces de relacher aux 3. R. pour y hyuerner.

DEC.

Le Premier dimanche de L'Auent on commence les Catechismes dans nostre chapelle.

capture, or shipwreck, of Jolycour and Aras, inhabitants of Monreal.

On the 27th, the flyboat, having left for Quebecq on the 25th, is constrained on account of the ice to put back to 3 Rivers, to winter there.

DECEMBER.

The First sunday in Advent, the lessons in Catechism are begun in our chapel.

LXXXIII

BRESSANI'S BREVE RELATIONE

MACERATA: HEREDI D' AGOSTINO GRISEI, 1653

SOURCE: We reprint from a copy of the original Italian edition, in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Owing to the length of the document, we herewith present only chaps. i.-iv. of Part I. Volume XXXIX. will be wholly occupied with this *Relazione*, which will be concluded in Volume XL.

BREVE RELATIONE

D'ALCUNE MISSIONI

De' PP. della Compagnia di Gesù
nella Nuova Francia

DEL P. FRANCESCO GIOSEPPE BRESSANI
della medesima Compagnia,

ALL'EMINENTISS. E REVERENDISS. SIG.

CARD. DE LVGO,



IN MACERATA, Per gli Eredi d'Agostino Grisei. 1653.

Con Licenza de' Signori Superiori.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT
OF CERTAIN MISSIONS
Of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus
in New France,

*BY FATHER FRANCESCO GIOSEPPE BRESSANI,
of the same Society,*

TO THE MOST EMINENT AND REV. SIGNOR,
CARDINAL DE LUGO,

AT MACERATA, By the Heirs of Agostino Grisei. 1653.

With Permission of the Authorities.

Eminentiss. e Reverendiss. Signore Padron
Colendissimo.

LA compiacenza, che Vostra Eminenza mostrò, intendendo i prosperi successi di queste Missioni, e la compassione, che portò à i disastri di quella, con il zelante desiderio di vederla quanto prima rimessa, oltre quello, che tutta la Compagnia, & io in particolare le deuo, con molti altri Soggetti di questa Missione, che hanno da' suoi fonti succhiato il latte della sacra Theologia; m' ha indotto à dedicarle la presente Relatione, alla formatione della quale la sua inclinatione hà non poco cooperato. Non è, se riguarda la persona, che scriue, e la semplicità dello stile, cosa degna dell' Eminenza Sua; mà la materia da se non è forse spiaceuole, nè sarà, come spero, infruttuosa, e li Grandi deuono, come Vostra Eminenza fà, con grande esempio della Chiesa, imitar le perfettioni di Dio, qui humilia respicit, massime quando v' è honorato. Con questa sì ben fondata speranza glie la presento, e le bacio humilissimamente le sacre vesti. Di Macerata li 19. Luglio 1653.

Di V. Eminenza Reuerendiss.

Deuotiss. & obligatiss. Seruo in Xpo

FRANCESCO GIOSEPPE BRESSANI.

Most Eminent and Most Reverend Signor, and
Very Worshipful Patron.

THE pleasure which Your Eminence manifested upon learning the prosperity and success of these Missions; the compassion which you felt for the disasters of this one, together with the zealous desire of seeing it restored as soon as possible; and the gratitude that the whole Society, and I in especial, owe to you,—along with many other Persons in this Mission, who have sucked the milk of sacred Theology from your fountains,—have led me to dedicate to you the present Relation, to the composition of which your sympathy has contributed not a little. It is not, if you consider the person who writes, and the simplicity of the style, a thing worthy of Your Eminence; but the matter in itself is not, perhaps, displeasing, nor will be, as I hope, unfruitful; and the Great should—as does Your Eminence, a noble example to the Church—imitate the perfections of God, qui humilia respicit, especially when he is thereby honored. With this so well founded hope, I present it to you, and most humbly kiss your sacred robes. From Macerata, the 19th of July, 1653.

Your Most Reverend Eminence's

Most devoted and obliged Servant in Christ,

FRANCESCO GIOSEPPE BRESSANI.

CVM Sanctiss. D. N. Urbanus Papa VIII. die 13. Martij 1625. in Sacra Congregatione S. R. E. vniuersalis Inquisitionis Decretum ediderit, idemque confirmauerit die 5. Iunij anno 1634. quo inhiuit imprimi libros hominum, qui Sanctitate, seu Martyrij fama celebres à vita migrauerunt, gesta, miracula, vel reuelationes, siue quæcunque beneficia, tanquam eorum intercessionibus à Deo accepta continentes, sine recognitione, atque approbatione Ordinarij, & quæ hætenus sine ea impressa sunt nullo modo vult censeri approbata. Idem autem Sanctiss. die 5. Iunij 1631. ita explicauerit, ut nimirum non admittantur elogia Sancti, vel Beati absolutè, & quæ cadunt super personam, benè tamen ea, quæ cadunt supra mores, & opinionem, cum protestatione in principio, quod ijs nulla adsit autoritas ab Ecclesia Romana, sed fides tantum sit penes autorem. Huic decreto, eiusq; confirmationi & declarationi obseruantia, & reuerentia, qua par est, insistendo, profiteor me haud alio sensu, quidquid in hoc libro refero, accipere, aut accipi ab ullo velle, quàm quo ea solent, quæ humana dumtaxat auctoritate, non autem diuina, Catholicæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, aut Sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ nituntur: ijs tantummodò exceptis, quos eadem Sancta Sedes Sanctorum, Beatorum, aut Martyrum catalogo adscripsit.

WHEREAS Our Holy Father, Pope Urban VIII., on the 13th day of March, 1625, in the Sacred Congregation of the general Inquisition of the Holy Roman Church, made a Decree, and confirmed the same on the 5th day of June, 1634, by which he forbade any books, containing the actions, miracles, or revelations of men who have departed this life, famed for Sanctity or Martyrdom, or containing any favors supposed to have been received from God through their intercession, to be printed without being examined and approved by the Ordinary; and wishes that whatsoever has heretofore been printed without such examination and approbation, shall be in no manner considered as approved; and whereas, also, His Holiness has — on the 5th day of June, 1631 — explained the same decree, to wit, that no eulogies of a Saint or Blessed should be permitted unconditionally, and so as to be directed to the person of such Saint or Blessed; but that such eulogies might well be permitted, as are given to their exemplary life and repute for sanctity, provided there is a protestation in the beginning, that the facts are not vouched for by the authority of the Roman Church, but that reliance is to be placed merely on the author: In compliance with this decree and its confirmation and explanation, with all due observance and reverence, I declare that, whatever is related by me in this book, I wish to understand and to be understood in no other sense than that in which is usually understood whatever is based upon mere human authority, and not on the divine authority of the Roman Catholic Church, or of the Holy Apostolic See, excepting however those, whom the same Holy See has entered on the catalogue of Saints, Blessed, and Martyrs.

Gosvvinvs Nickel Societatis Iesv Praepositvs
Generalis.

CVM Relationem nonnullarum Missionum à Patri-
bus nostræ Societatis in America Septentri-
onali, & in ea regione, quæ Noua Francia
vocatur obitarum, conscriptam à P. Francisco Iosepho
Breffanio eiufdem Societatis Sacerdote ex illis parti-
bus nuper ad nos reuerfo, aliquot nostri Religiosi
recognouerint, & in lucem edi posse probauerint,
facultatem facimus, vt typis mādetur, si ijs, ad quos
pertinet, ita videbitur, cuius rei gratia has litteras
manu nostra subscriptas, sigilloque nostro munitas
damus.

Romæ 26. Martij 1653.

GOSVVINVS NICKEL.

Goswin Nickel, General of the Society of
Jesus.

WHEREAS the Relation of certain Missions undertaken by Fathers of our Society in North America, in the region called New France, written by Father Francesco Gioseppe Bressani, Priest of the same Society, who has lately returned to us from those parts, has been examined by some of our Religious and approved for publication, we hereby give permission to have it printed, if those whom it concerns shall so decide; in confirmation of which we give the present letters, signed by our hand and furnished with our seal.

Rome, 26th of March, 1653.

GOSWIN NICKEL.¹⁵

Si placet Illustrifs. & Reuerendifs. D. D. Papirio Siluestro Ep. Macer. Imprimatur Fr. Vincentius de Gulijs Min. Con. Sac. Theol. Mag. in Patr. Vniu. Phil. Profefs.

Imprimatur. Ludouicus Signorius Vic. & Aud. Gener.

Hieronymus Spinuccius vidit pro Reuerendissimo P. M. D. Io: Vincentio Paulino Inquis. Gener. Anconæ.

Imprimatur. Fr. Io: Baptista Talianus S. T. M. ac Vic. S. Offic. Macerat. Ord. Prædicatorum.

Let it be printed, if it please the Most Illustrious and Reverend Lord Papirius Silvester, Bishop of Macerata. Fr. Vincentius de Juliis, of the Minor Conventuals, Master of Sacred Theology, Professor of Philosophy in Our University.

Imprimatur: Ludovicus Signorius, Vicar and General Auditor.

Hieronymus Spinuccius has examined this book, in place of the Most Reverend Master of the Sacred Palace, Joannes Vincentius Paulinus, Inquisitor General of Ancona.

Imprimatur: Fr. Joannes Baptista Talianus, of the Friars Preachers, Master of Sacred Theology, and Vicar of the Holy Office at Macerata.

[1] Proemio.

I SUCCESSI funesti, e gloriosi insieme delle Missioni della nuoua Francia paese dell' America Settentrionale sono fin' hora stati ristretti ne' confini dell' Antica per esser stati ogni anno scritti solo in lingua Francese. Dall' altro canto essendo degni di essere saputi da per tutto meritarebbero d' esser trasferiti in qualche lingua, che fosse intesa là, doue la Francese non corre.

Questo è stato, ed è il desiderio di molti pieni di zelo, e di Santa curiosità, di saper i progressi della Fede in questi nuoui paesi. E per compiacerli è vn pezzo, che si è cominciato à pensare di farne vn' historia latina assai esatta. Mà come quest' opera richiede ancora molto tempo, e le giuste istanze di tanti meritano qualche sodisfatione, mi sono lasciato indurre, senza pregiudizio dell' historia, che se ne scriuerà più vniuersale, e più à lungo di farne quì vno sbozzo, ò più tosto di darne vn saggio con la semplicità, e breuità la più grande, che potrò. Io non pretendo di parlare di tutto, ma solo dare vna cognitione assai rozza, particolarmente della Missione degli Huroni, che siamo stati costretti d' abbandonare, parlando come di passaggio di quel, che toccherà all' altre. Diuiderò il tutto in tre parti, la prima riguardarà la natura, la seconda la gratia, la terza la

[1] Preface.

THE Events—disastrous, yet glorious—of the Missions of new France, a country of North America, have hitherto been known only within the limits of Old France, having been written every year in the French language alone. Nevertheless, as they are worthy of being known everywhere, they deserve to be translated into some language which might be understood where French is not current.

This has been, and is, the desire of many, full of zeal and of Devout curiosity to know the progress of the Faith in those new countries. And to gratify them, I have thought, for some time past, of composing on the subject a latin history, fairly exact.¹⁶ But, as that work still requires much time, and the reasonable solicitations of so many deserve some satisfaction, I have allowed myself to be led—without prejudice to the history, which shall be written more generally and at greater length—to make a sketch thereof at once; or, rather, to give an essay thereon, with as great simplicity and brevity as possible. I do not claim to speak of everything, but only to afford a somewhat rough conception,—particularly of the Mission of the Hurons, which we have been forced to abandon, speaking, in passing, of what pertains to the others. I shall divide the whole into three parts: the first will be concerned with nature, the second with grace, the third with

gloria. Primo confiderando il naturale de' Barbari, e del paefe. Secondo la loro conuerfione opra principalmente della gratia. Terzo la morte, e confe- guentemente la gloria come fperiamo d' alcuni, che v' hanno grandemente cooperato.

glory. First, will be considered the nature of the Barbarians and of the country; secondly, their conversion, principally a work of grace; thirdly, the death, and consequently the glory, as we hope, of some who have greatly coöperated therein.

Parte Prima

CAPITOLO PRIMO.

SITUATIONE, & INUENTIONE DELLA NUOVA FRANCIA.

PER nuova Francia si piglia comunemente lo spatio di terra, e d' acqua, che è da i 36. gradi di latitudine, che è quella della Virginia fino alli 52. doue quasi comincia il gran Fiume di San Lorenzo, altri la pigliano dalli 32. fino alli 54. si stende secondo la longitudine da gradi 325. fino à 295. da noi conosciuti, ò per meglio dire senza alcun termine verso l' Occidente. E' vna parte della gran Terra dell' America Settentrionale, distante dall' [2] Europa di dritto circa tremila miglia, come habbiamo offeruato in diuerse Eclissi, situata, come si vede, in vna delle Zone temperate, ma che partecipa le qualità delle due estreme, essendoui l' Inuerno gran freddi, altissime neui, e durissimi ghiacci; e l' Estate caldi non minori di quelli dell' Italia.

I primi Francesi, che hanno iui habitato, hanno creduto la causa de i freddi sì eccessiui (che impediscono, tra l' altre cose, quasi quattro mesi il poter scrivere à meno, che tenerli con la penna viciniissimi al foco; tanto ogni liquore gela) esser i boschi vastissimi, che coprono tutto il paese. Ma io per me credo, che, se i boschi secchi, e senza foglie, come sono

Part First.

CHAPTER FIRST.

SITUATION AND DISCOVERY OF NEW FRANCE.

BY new France is commonly understood the space of land and water which extends from 36 degrees of latitude, which is that of Virginia, to 52, where, nearly, begins the great River of Saint Lawrence; others locate it from 32 to 54. It extends in longitude from 325 degrees to 295, as known to us,—or, to speak more properly, without any limit toward the West. It is a part of the Mainland of North America, distant from [2] Europe, in a direct course, about three thousand miles, as we have observed in various Eclipses; situated, as is seen, in one of the temperate Zones, but partaking of the quality of the two extremes,—having severe cold in Winter, very deep snows, and very hard ice; and in Summer, no less heat than that of Italy.

The first French who lived there believed that the cause of such excessive cold (which, among other things, for nearly four months renders it impossible to write, unless one ply his pen very close to the fire, to such a degree does every liquid freeze) was the endlessly vast woods which cover the whole country. But I myself believe that if the woods, dry and leafless as they are in Winter, could hinder the Sun from warming the earth and moderating the excessive cold, they would avail still more in keeping off

nell' Inuerno, poteffero impedire l' attione del Sole capace di riscaldar la terra, e moderare il freddo eccessiuo l' hauerebbero ancora maggiore per impedir la l' Estate, quando sono foltissimi, e pure non lo fanno, effendo all' hora ne' boschi stessi eccessiuo il caldo, benche qualche notte geli come nell' Inuerno. Stimo dunque, che la vera ragione sia la siccità, chiamata da Aristotele *cos caloris, & frigoris*. Non disputo, se il freddo della nuoua Francia sia più inteso, che quello de' Paesi, che sono sotto l' istesso clima; certo è, che è molto più acuto, e accompagnato da grandi neui, e ghiacci, che tengono i fiumi gelati cinque, e sei mesi intieri. Mà tutto questo può essere effetto della siccità, la quale è necessaria per le neui, e ghiacci, effendo opinione fondatissima, che il freddo anche grandemente intenso non basta per far i ghiacci; altrimenti l' acqua, che domanda naturalmente il fommo freddo, come vogliono molti, ò almeno vn freddo grandemente intenso, come nessun lo nega, dourebbe nello stato suo naturale esser agghiacciata contro il suo fine, che è di seruire di lauanda, e di beuanda à gl' huomini, e à gli animali; ma perche il freddo solo ancorche intenso non basta senza qualche ò corpicciolo, ò effalatione, ò qualità secca, per questo nello stato stesso naturale farebbe fluida, e doue la siccità si troua, ancorche il freddo non sia più grande, che altroue, ella si restringe, ò si dilata in neue, e in ghiacci. Hor la siccità di quei paesi è euidente prima perche la più parte delle terre sono ò sassose, ò arenose (non però sterili) donde il Sole non può tirar altro, che efalationi molto secche: e i paesi

the heat in Summer, when they are very dense; and yet they do not,—the heat in the woods themselves being then very intense, although some nights it freezes as in Winter. I think, therefore, that the true reason is the dryness, called by Aristotle the *causa caloris et frigoris*. I do not dispute whether the cold of new France is more intense than that of Countries which are under the same latitude; certain it is, that it is much more acute, and accompanied with much snow and ice, which keep the rivers frozen five and six entire months. But all this may be an effect of the dryness, which is necessary for the snows and ice,—it being a very well-founded opinion that even very intense cold is not sufficient to make ice; otherwise, water—which naturally never freezes except under the greatest cold, as many will have it, or at least under a highly intense cold, as no one denies—would in its natural state be frozen, contrary to its destined use, which is to serve for washing, and as a drink for men and animals. But, because cold alone, although intense, is not sufficient without either some little body, or exhalation, or dry quality, therefore water, even in its natural state, would be fluid; and where dryness prevails, although the cold is not greater than elsewhere, it contracts or expands itself into snow and into ice. Besides, the dryness of these countries is evident,—first, because most of the lands are either stony or sandy (but not, on that account, sterile), whence the Sun cannot derive other than very dry exhalations; and the maritime countries, as being more moist, have less snow, and it melts more quickly. Secondly, from experience, through the scarcity of rains, and by the salubrity of the air, so great that, in sixteen and more years during which

maritimi come che più humidi hanno meno neue, e si disfà più preſto. Secondo dall' eſperienza per la rarezza delle pioggie, e per la fanità dell' aria sì grande, che in fedici, e più anni, che la Miſſione de gl' Huroni è durata, [3] doue ſiamo ſtati fino al numero di ſeſſanta Europei nell' iſteſſo tempo, tra quali molti di deboliſſima compleſſione, niuno vi è morto di morte naturale, non oſtante i gran diſaggi, e patimenti, come vedremo: doue in Europa rari ſono quelli anni, che alcuno non muora ne' noſtri Collegij, che ſono vn poco numeroſi. Hora *omnis corruptio ab humido*, dunque à *contrario ſanitas à ſicco*, e per queſto forſi oltre la mutatione de' viueri difficilmente i Barbari ſi accoſtumano all' aria d' Europa, e queſta ragione è commune al caldo, e al freddo, *quia ſiccitas eſt coſ caloris, & frigoris*. Ma per il freddo in particolare potreſſimo aggiungere. Primo, che il ſuolo è più alto, che il noſtro, e per tanto più vicino alla ſeconda regione dell' aria, del cui freddo partecipa più. E queſto ſi proua per il Mare più profondo, e però più pericoloso alle naui, che deuono pigliar terra. Secondo per le molte caſcate de' fiumi, che meſſe inſieme farebbero vna affai alta montagna, che formandoſi, come per gradi non è sì ſenſibile. Terzo per i venti freddiſſimi, che vengono dalle vicine montagne, che trauerſano tutto il paefe, come gl' Appennini l' Italia, che più frequentemente ſpirano da paefi freddi, e ſecchi, che ſono corriſpondenti à noſtri venti maeftrali, & al Lebeccio, che in quei paefi è freddo, chiaro, e ſano; le pioggie cauſandoſi dal Greco, che vien dal mare. Il paefe è vero, che è pieno di gran fiumi,

the Huron Mission has lasted,—[3] where, during the same time, we have been as many as sixty Europeans, among whom were many of very feeble constitution,—no one has died a natural death here, notwithstanding the great inconveniences and sufferings, as we shall see; while in Europe those years are few indeed when some one does not die in our Colleges, if their inmates are at all numerous. Now, *omnis corruptio ab humido*,—therefore, *à contrario*, *sanitas à sicco*; and on this account, perhaps,—besides the change of diet,—the Barbarians find it difficult to accustom themselves to the air of Europe. Thus there is a common cause for both heat and cold, namely, *quia siccitas est causa caloris et frigoris*. But for the cold, in particular, we might add: First, that the land lies higher than ours, and consequently nearer to the second region of the air, of whose cold it partakes in a greater degree. And this is proved by the greater depth of the Sea, which is consequently more dangerous to the ships that are obliged to land. Secondly, by the many river-cascades, which if placed together would form a fairly high mountain; which, however, forming itself, as it were, by gradations, is not so perceptible. Thirdly, by the very cold winds blowing from the neighboring mountains, which traverse the whole country as the Apennines traverse Italy; these winds more frequently blow from cold and dry countries, corresponding to our northwest winds, and to the Southwest wind which in those countries is cold, clear, and healthful,—the rains proceeding from the Northeast wind, which comes from the sea. The country, it is true, is full of great rivers and immense lakes; but this does not detract from its dryness,—these rivers and lakes

e laghi immensi; ma questo non deroga alla sua ficità; questi fiumi, e laghi essendo d' acqua purissima, e sanissima, secondo il fondo di pietra, ò arena, terzo in continuo moto per il flusso, e riflusso, che vâ fino à cinquecento miglia nelle terre; finalmente, per i venti, che li agitano come il Mare, e per questo impediscono l' attione del Sole, che per altro ne tirarebbe maggior copia de vapori, che è la causa stessa, perche non pioue sempre nel mare, la cui acqua per altro è molto più calda, grossa, e disposta à riceuere l' impressione del Sole. Potrebbe qualchuno aggiungere à questo la vicinanza, e continuità de Mari di Canada con il mare glaciale, dal quale, ò almeno dalle cui spiagge si staccano monti intieri di ghiaccio, che nel mese di Giugno, e di Luglio s' incontrano fino nel golfo San Lorenzo. Io ne hò visti più volte grandi come Città intiere, e Piloti degni di fede dicono hauerne viste, e costeggiate di 200. e più miglia.

Ma è difficile, che questi ghiacci per immensi, che siano, operino in vna distanza sì grande, quanto la nostra, che stauamo sotto li 47. fino alli 44. gradi di latitudine 900. e più miglia lontani [4] dal mare. Alcuni hanno creduto, che questi paesi fossero stati altre volte scoperti da' Spagnoli, da' quali forsi habbero il nome di Canada, quasi voleffero dire, che hà nada, non hauendo quasi niente, che boschi. Ma è certo, che ne fù preso la prima volta da Francesi il possesso l' anno 1504. e da essi hebbe il nome di nuoua Francia senza perder quello di Canadà, che alcuni hanno voluto applicare alla parte più Settentrionale. V' hanno fatto più viaggi, come l' anno 1508. 1523.

being of very pure and very wholesome water; secondly, the bottom is of rock or sand; thirdly, they are in continual motion through the flow and ebb of the tide, whose action extends five hundred miles inland, and, finally, through the winds, which agitate them like the Sea, and thereby restrain the action of the Sun which otherwise would draw from them a greater abundance of vapors. This last is the very reason why it does not continually rain on the sea,—whose water, on the other hand, is much warmer, of greater volume, and more open to receive the influence of the Sun. Some one might add to this the nearness or contiguity of the Seas of Canada to the icy sea,—from which, or at least from whose shores, are detached whole mountains of ice, which, in the months of June and July, are encountered even in the gulf of Saint Lawrence. I have repeatedly seen them as great as entire Cities; and Pilots worthy of credence say that they have seen some, along which they have coasted for 200 miles and over.

But it is unlikely that these masses of ice, immense though they are, have any effect at so great a distance as ours, since we dwell between the 47th and the 44th degrees of latitude, 900 miles or more [4] from the sea. Some have supposed that these countries were, in former times, discovered by the Spaniards, from whom, perhaps, they got the name of Canada,—as if they meant to say *hà nada*, there being almost nothing but woods. But it is certain that this region was taken possession of for the first time by the French in the year 1504; and from them it received the name of new France, without losing that of Canadà, which some have wished to apply to the more Northern part.¹⁷ They made several voyages

1524. 1534. 1608. 1625. & interrotti spesso, come hà scritto à longo il Champelino fino all' anno 1629 quando preso da gl' Ingleſi vn Forte, che i Franceſi haueuano quattrocento, e più miglia lontano dal mare nel gran fiume San Lorenzo con occaſione della pace, che ſi fece tra loro ne furono rimeſſi nel pacifico poſſeſſo, che hanno continuato fin hora, ſenza alcun termine verſo l' Occidente, & il Settentrione, le ſpiagge del mare, che ſono verſo mezzo dì, e l' Oriente eſſendo occupate parte da Franceſi, parte da gl' Ingleſi, che vi ſono in gran numero, parte da gli Olandeſi, parte da Suedeſi. Nell' iſteſſo tempo, che furono i Franceſi coſtretti dalla fame di renderſi, i noſtri, che erano iui tre, ò quattro anni prima andati con alcuni Padri Riformati di S. Franceſco, che v' erano paſſati da dieci anni prima, ne furono da gl' iſteſſi Ingleſi rimenati in Inghilterra, quindi in Francia, e nel ritorno de' Franceſi ritornarono i noſtri ſoli per dar principio alla conuerſione de' Barbari abitanti di quei paeſi, inſtituendo due Miſſioni vna per le nationi, che chiamano Algonchine, e Montagneſi: popoli tra loro vn poco ſimili di lingua, ma erranti, e vaghi ne' boſchi: l' altra per gli Huroni popoli di lingua differentiffima, e che ſon ſiſſi in vn luogo. Hor della prima non dirò molto per non eſſerci ſtato impiegato, della ſeconda, doue hò paſſato alcuni anni, poche coſe dirò, delle quali io non ſia teſtimonio di viſta.

E perche ſi deuon quì alcune volte nominare diuerſi luoghi particolari per informare il Lettore delli più principali, li accennaremo in queſto principio.

I Tadufaſc è il primo porto, che ſi piglia commu-

thither,—as in the years 1508, 1523, 1524, 1534, 1608, and 1625; and these were frequently interrupted, as Champlain has written at some length,—until the year 1629, when a Fort which the French had on the great river Saint Lawrence, more than four hundred miles distant from the sea, was taken by the English. On occasion of the peace which was made between these nations, the French were restored to the amicable possession of the territory, in which they have continued until now, without any limit toward the West and the North; while the shores of the sea which are toward the south and East are occupied partly by the French, partly by the English,—who are there in great numbers,—in part by the Dutch, and in part by Swedes. At the same time when the French were constrained by hunger to surrender, those of our Society, who had gone thither three or four years previously,—also some Reformed Fathers of St. Francis, who had passed over thither ten years earlier,—were brought back to England by the same English, and thence to France; but, at the return of the French, ours returned alone, in order to lay foundations for the conversion of the Barbarians inhabiting those countries. They instituted two Missions,—one for the nations which they call Algonquin and Montagnais, peoples somewhat related in language, but wandering and roving in the woods; the other, for the Hurons, tribes of a very different language, and settled in one region. Now of the first I will not say much, because I was not employed there; of the second, where I spent several years, I will say few things of which I have not been an eye-witness.

And as certain places will be particularly referred

nemente circa trecento miglia dentro il fiume San Lorenzo. Non vi s' habita se non all' arriuio delle nauì, & all' hora vi si fa Missione, e s' istruiscono per lo spatio di due, ò tre mesi i Barbari erranti, che vi concorrono da diuersi paesi da 300. e più miglia lontano.

2 Kebek è 120. miglia più nelle terre, & è vna Fortezza de Francesi, [5] che comanda allo stesso fiume, al lido del quale è fabricata sopra vna montagna nel luogo il più stretto di questo fiume, che è iui d' vn miglio in circa. Quì v' è Colonia Francese, & Hurona da poco in quà, & i Barbari detti Algonchini vi passano qualche mese dell' Anno prima d' andar' alla loro caccia.

3 Quattro miglia lontano da Kebek alle spiagge dello stesso fiume v' è vna Residenza della Compagnia detta di San Giuseppe, doue i Christiani Algonchini passano la metà dell' Anno con alcune famiglie Francesi; si chiama altrimenti Sylleri dal fondatore, che fù il Commendatore di Sylleri.

4 Nouanta miglia più oltre sempre contro il corso dell' acqua sbocca in questo Rè de' fiumi, che hà al principio 60 miglia di largo, & iui più d' vn miglio, e mezo, e flusso, e riflusso, àcorche lontan dal mare più di 400. miglia, sbocca dico, quel che chiamiamo i tre fiumi, perche esce come da tre bocche à ragione di due Isole, che lo diramano in tre, e quì è il secondo forte de' Francesi nel fiume San Lorenzo, & vna seconda Colonia de gl' istessi, e de Barbari Algonchini qualche tempo dell' Anno.

5 Doppo dieci miglia sempre contr' acqua s' incõtra

to from time to time, we will at once make known to the Reader the more important ones.

1. Tadusac is the first port, which is usually set down as being about three hundred miles up the river Saint Lawrence. It is deserted except at the arrival of the ships; and then a Mission is held there, and the wandering Barbarians—who assemble there from various countries, at a distance of 300 miles, and over—are instructed for the space of two or three months.

2. Kebek is 120 miles further inland, and is a Fortress of the French, [5] which commands the same river, on whose bank it is constructed upon a mountain, at the narrowest point on this river, which is here about a mile wide. There is a French Colony there, and, quite recently, a Huron one; and the Barbarians called Algonquins spend several months of the Year there before going to their hunt.

3. Four miles distant from Kebek, on the shores of the same river, there is a Residence of the Society, called Saint Joseph, where the Algonquin Christians spend half of the Year, with some French families: it is otherwise called Syllerì, from the founder, who was the Chevalier de Syllerì.

4. Ninety miles beyond, still up stream, there flows into this King of rivers,—which at its mouth is 60 miles in width, and here more than a mile and a half, with both flow and ebb of the tide, although more than 400 miles distant from the sea,—there flows into it, I say, a tributary which we call the three rivers, because it issues as if from three mouths, by reason of two Islands, which divide it into three streams. At that place is the second fort of the French on the river Saint Lawrence, and a

il lago detto di S Pietro di 24. miglia di longo, e 10 ò 12 di largo famoso per l' incursioni de gl' Hiroquesi, il fiume lo continua, e sei miglia più oltre era alla bocca del fiume (che chiamano de gli Hirochesi per venire dal loro lago) il forte di Richelieu.

6 Cinquanta miglia più auanti è la grand' Isola di Mont Reale 180. miglia lontana da Kebek altre volte habitatissima da Barbari, hora ve ne fono pochissimi. V' è vn forte de Francesi con alcune famiglie, che principiano vna terza Colonia. Questa Isola hà circa cento miglia di circuito, e quì s' vnifcono i due rami, che formano il nostro gran fiume. E questo basti per l' intelligenza di quel che diremo in questa historia.

second Colony of theirs,—and, during a certain time of the Year, of Algonquin Barbarians.

5. Then, ten miles further, still up stream, is the lake called St. Pierre,—24 miles in length and 10 or 12 in width,—famous through the incursions of the Hiroquois. A river prolongs it; and six miles beyond, at the mouth of this river (which is named after the Hiroquois, because it comes from their lake), was the fort of Richelieu.

6. Fifty miles beyond is the great Island of Mont Reale, 180 miles distant from Kebek,—which was formerly thickly inhabited by Barbarians, while now they are very few. There is a fort of the French, with some families, who are founding a third Colony. This Island is about a hundred miles in circumference; and there the two branches unite which form our great river. And let this be sufficient for the understanding of what we shall say in this history.¹⁸

CAPITOLO SECONDO

DESCRITTIONE DEL PAESE DE GLI HURONI.

IL Paese de gli Huroni è vna parte della nuoua Francia, che è tra li 44. e 45. gradi di latitudine, e di longitudine circa tre quarti d' hora più verfo l' Occidente di Kebek, ma di Roma più di fei hore intiere. Dalla parte dell' Occidente estiuo hà vn lago di [6] 1200. miglia di giro in circa, che chiamiamo il mar dolce, doue si nota fluffo, e rifluffo cofa rara fuori del mare. Hà innumerabili Isole, & vna tra l' altre di 200. miglia di circuito habitata da alcuni Barbari, che chiamano ondatauauat. Dalla parte di Ponente nelle spiagge di questo lago era la natione, che chiamauamo del Tabacco, perche iui se ne faceua in abbondanza, e non era da noi lontana più di 35. ouero 40. miglia. Dalla parte di Mezzo di vn poco verfo l' Occidente s' incontraua la natione neutra; i primi borghi della quale nõ erano lontani da gli Huroni più di 100 miglia, e questa natione si stendeua per lo spatio di 150. miglia. Di là dalla natione neutra tirando vn poco verfo l' Oriente si andaua alla noua Suetia, doue habitano ancora gli Andastogenronons popoli confederati de nostri Huroni, che parlano vna lingua non molto diuerfa dalla loro lótni da noi di dritto circa 500. miglia. Dall' istessa natione neutra tirando quasi al Mezzodi si troua vn lago di 600. miglia di circuito detto Herie formato dal mar dolce, che in quello si scarica, e di quì per mezzo d' vn' altissima

CHAPTER SECOND.

DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY OF THE HURONS.

THE Country of the Hurons is a part of new France, which is between the 44th and 45th degrees of latitude, and in longitude about three-quarters of an hour farther toward the West than Kebek, but more than six whole hours from Rome. In the direction of the summer Sunset, it has a lake of [6] about 1200 miles in circumference, which we call "the fresh-water sea," where the flow and ebb of tides can be observed,—a rare thing away from the sea. It has innumerable Islands,—and, among others, one 200 miles in circumference, inhabited by some Barbarians, whom they call ondatauauat.¹⁹ At the West, along the shores of this lake, was the nation which we called "Tobacco," because this plant was produced there in abundance; this nation was not distant from us more than 35 or 40 miles. Southward, a little toward the West, came the neutral nation, whose first villages were not more than 100 miles distant from the Hurons; the territory of this nation extended through the space of 150 miles. Thence, moving from the neutral nation a little toward the East, one reached new Sweden, where also dwell the Andastogenronons,—who are allied to our Hurons, and speak a language not very different from theirs,—distant from us, in a direct route, about 500 miles. Beyond that same neutral nation, in a direction nearly South, there is

cafcata in vn terzo lago ancora più grande, e più bello chiamato Ontario, ò Bel lago, noi lo chiamauamo il lago di S. Luigi. Il primo di quefti due laghi era altre volte habitato verfo il Mezzo dì da certi popoli, che noi chiamamo la natione del Gatto, ma furno coftretti ad inoltrarfi più nelle Terre per fchiuare i nemici, che hanno verfo l' Occidente. Quefta natione hà diuerfe Terre, coltiua i campi, e parla vna lingua fimile all' Hurona. Il fecondo lago lontano da gl' Huroni di dritto circa 100. miglia, ne hà quafi 250. di longhezza tirando dall' Oriente verfo l' Occidente, e di larghezza circa 50. dal Mezzo dì al Settentrione. Si fcarica in vn gran fiume, che fà vn braccio di quello, che chiamamo di S. Lorenzo. Di là da quefto lago di S. Luigi vn poco nelle Terre habitano le cinque nationi Hirochefe nemiche de noftri Huroni in poftura quafi parallele alla lunghezza di quefto lago. Dalla parte Boreale de gli Huroni fono molte nationi Algonchine, che non coltiuano la terra, ma viuono folamente di caccia, e pefca, e vanno fino al mare detto del Nord, dal quale ci ftimauamo diftati di dritto circa 1000. miglia. I noftri Barbari traffica uano con effi ogn' anno le pelli di Caftoro, de quali hanno grandiffima abbondanza. L' altre nationi à noi conofciute, che habitano quefto lago fono ancora Algonchine, e coltiuano, benche poco, i campi, fono almeno al numero di noue, vna delle quali è la natione del Salto, ò cafcata [7] lontana da noi più di 300. miglia, dalla quale fperauamo il paffaggio per andare ad altre nationi più lontane, che habitano vn lago più grande, che il mar dolce, che hà da effo la fua origine, e fi ftende tra l' Occidente, e la tramontana. Vna Penifola, ò Stretto di terra diuide quefto lago

a lake 600 miles in circumference, called Herie, formed by the fresh-water sea, which discharges into it,—and thence, by means of a very high cataract, into a third lake, still greater and more beautiful; it is called Ontario, or Beautiful lake, but we were wont to call it the lake of St. Louis. The former of these two lakes was at one time inhabited toward the South by certain peoples whom we call the Cat nation; but they were forced to proceed farther Inland, in order to escape the enemies whom they have toward the West. This nation has various Territories, cultivates the fields, and speaks a language similar to the Huron. The second lake—distant from the Hurons, in a straight course, about 100 miles—is nearly 250 miles in length, extending from the East to the West, and about 50 in width, from the South to the North. It discharges into a great river, which makes an arm of the one which we call St. Lawrence. A little Inland thence from this lake of St. Louis, reside the five Hiroquois nations, enemies to our Hurons, in a situation almost parallel to the length of that lake. North of the Hurons are many Algonquin nations, who do not cultivate the earth, but live exclusively by hunting and fishing, and go even to the so-called Northern sea, from which we reckoned ourselves distant about 1000 miles, in a straight line. Our Barbarians traded with them every year in Beaver skins, of which they have an enormous abundance. The other nations known to us, which inhabit that lake, are also Algonquin, and cultivate the soil, although but little. They are at least as many as nine,—one of them being the nation of the Sault, or cascade, [7] more than 300 miles distant from us, through which we

da quello, che chiamano de Puzzolenti, gente così detta per hauer altre volte habitato le spiagge del mare, che loro chiamano Puzzolente, & hanno vna lingua à noi affatto sconosciuta.

Hor sotto il nome della Missione de gli Huroni comprendeuamo tutti questi vastissimi paesi, & il disegno era di non fermarsi mai nell' inquisitione de nuoui Popoli, de quali sperauamo, che vna Colonia nel paese de gli Huroni farebbe la chiaue, se gli inscrutabili giuditij di Dio non haueffero altrimenti disposto.

hoped for a passage in order to reach other nations farther on, who dwell along a lake larger than the fresh-water sea, which takes its origin thence, and extends between the West and the north. A Peninsula, or Strip of land, divides this lake from the one which is called "lake of the Stinkards",—people so named by reason of having formerly inhabited the shores of the sea, which they call Stinking water, and who have a language altogether unknown to us.

Now, under the name of "Mission of the Hurons," we comprehended all these vast countries; and our design was, never to stop in the seeking out of new Peoples,—to whom we hoped that a Colony in the country of the Hurons might be the key,—had not the inscrutable judgments of God otherwise disposed.

CAPITOLO TERZO.

DEL SUOLO, VIUERE, VESTIRE, E NATURALE DE BAR-
BARI DELLA NUOVA FRANCIA.

QUESTO capo richiederebbe da se vn libro intero, e si farà come spero col tempo, ma come questo scritto non è tanto per la curiosità, come per l' edificatione, e la breuità, mi è à cuore; dirò folo, che il paese è pouerissimo, ma non sterile, se si coltiua rende con grande auantaggio quel che riceue. Hà molte spetie d' Alberi, che quì non habbiamo, e tra gl' altri molti cedri simili à quelli del Libano, molti semplici à noi sconosciuti, animali, & ucelli diuersi da nostri, vno tra gli altri, che miaula come vn gatto, e canta come vn' ucello che è, & vn' altro vaghifs. che p la sua piccolezza si chiama ucello mosca; vn lepre, che canta, & è al gusto miglior de nostri, & vn' animaluccio, che perseguitato si difende con vna puzza infopportabile, e di longhissima durata, che perciò i Francesi han chiamato figlio del Diauolo, hanno ancora de Scoriattoli volanti, ma senza ale, e molti altri de più grossi, come Orignacchi, ò Gran Bestie, Vacche, & Afini saluaticchi, come si vedrà nell' historia. I cani stessi domestici sono differenti da nostri. Noto folo, primo, che la natura prouida madre per i gran freddi dell' Inuerno gli veste quasi tutti anche i nostri, che nascono nel

CHAPTER THIRD.

OF THE SOIL, FOOD, DRESS, AND CHARACTER OF THE
BARBARIANS OF NEW FRANCE.

THIS chapter would in itself require a whole book, and that will be composed, as I hope, in course of time; but,—as this writing is not so much for curiosity as for edification, and as brevity is a chief concern with me,—I will merely say that the country is very poor, but not sterile; when cultivated, it gives back with great abundance what it receives. It has many species of Trees which we do not have here; and among others, many cedars similar to those of Lebanon, many simples unknown to us, animals and birds different from ours. Among these last is one which mews like a cat and sings like a bird, which it is; and another, very dainty, which for its diminutive size is called *oiseau-mouche* [humming-bird]. There is a hare which sings, and is more palatable than ours; and a small animal which, when pursued, defends itself with a stench which is insufferable and continues very long,—the French therefore have called it “son of the Devil.” They have also flying Squirrels, but without wings; and many other animals of greater size,—such as Elks or Great Beasts, Cows, and wild Asses,—as will be seen in the history. Even the domestic dogs are different from ours. I merely note: first, that nature, that provident mother, on account of the great cold of the Winter, clothes them almost all,—includ-

paefe, come cani, porci &c. di doppio pelo interiore, & efteriore, il primo de quali è foltiffimo, e delicatiffimo.

Secondo, che i Lepri mutano come nell' Alpi l' inuerno il colore [8] effendo bianchi come la neue, tra la quale viuono, e l' eftate ripigliando il colore de noftri. La terra hà miniere di ferro, e certe pietre, che fi liquefāno come metallo, che pare, che habbino qualche vena d'argento. V' è vna miniera di Rame puriffimo, che nō hà bifogno di paffare per il fuoco, ma è in luoghi molto lontani, e difficili, che ne fanno il trasporto quafi impoffibile. L' habbiamo vifta nelle mani de Barbari, ma niuno l' hà vifitata. Oltre le Zucche, che durano da due mefi, e fono boniffime cotte fotto le ceneri non vi è altri frutti, che faluatichi. Li migliori fono le frauole di due forti, i mori, che nafcono ne i fpini, le nocchie, e qualche lazzarola, e brugna faluatica. Le noci non hanno quafi altro, che la pelle, e le cerafe non fono più groffe d' vn cecio, non hanno quafi altro, che l' offo, e la fcorza, e fono agriffime. V' è delle lambrufche, ma in poca quantità, nè fi ftimano da Barbari fteffi, ma sì bene vn certo frutto di color pauonazzo groffo come vna bacca di ginepro, che non hò mai vifto in quefti paefi. Hò ben' iui vifto in vn fol luogo vna pianta fimile al Melon d' India col frutto groffo come vn limoncello. Vi è in qualche luogo abbōdanza d' agli, e cipollette, & in altri alcune radici di affai buon gufto, che feruano, come anche le ghiande in tempo di fame.

Gli Habitanti partecipano della pouertà del Suolo

ing ours which are born in the country, such as dogs, swine, etc.,—with double fur, inner and outer, the former of which is very thick and very soft.

Secondly, that the Hares, as in the Alps, change their color in winter, [8] being white like the snow in which they live,—while, in summer, they resume the color of ours.²⁰ The earth contains iron ores, and certain rocks which melt like metal, with an appearance of having some vein of silver. There is a Copper ore, which is very pure, and which has no need of passing through the fire; but it is in places far distant and hard to reach, which render its transportation almost impossible. We have seen it in the hands of the Barbarians, but no one has visited the place. Besides the Pumpkins, which last for two months, and are very good baked under the ashes, there are no other fruits but wild ones. The best are the strawberries, of two sorts; the blackberries, which grow on briars; the hazelnuts, and certain haws, and the wild plum. The walnuts have scarcely anything but the shell, and the cherries are no larger than a pea,—being little else than stone and skin, and very sour. There are some wild vines, but in small quantity, nor are they esteemed by the Barbarians themselves; but they do esteem highly a certain fruit of violet color, the size of a juniper berry, which I have never seen in these countries. I have also seen, once, a plant similar to the Melon of India, with fruit the size of a small lime. There is also, in a certain place, abundance of garlic and cives; and elsewhere there are found some roots of fairly good savor, which serve—as also do acorns—in time of hunger.

The Inhabitants reflect the poverty of the Soil, in

nel viuere, vestire, habitare, letto, e nauigatione, I Barbari erranti prima di conofcere i Francesi non viuueuano d' altro, che ò di caccia, ò di pefca, e digiu-nauamo più della metà dell' anno per neceffità, non hauendo nè l' Economia, nè fpeffo la commodità di conferuare longo tempo la caccia, ò la pefca, quando buona gli riufciua non hauendo fale, & il fumo, del quale fi feruano in vece di fale, non effendo capace di conferuare i viueri longo tempo; onde ne moriua fpeffo di fame, ò gli ammazzauano talhora per pietà. Ma doppo, che hanno il commercio con i Francesi, quelli che ftanno vicini al mare con il cambio delle loro pelli di Caftoro hanno de viueri per qualche tempo dell' Anno.

Ma gli Huroni, e gli altri Popoli lontani dal mare, che fono ftabili hanno la caccia folo per delitia, ò per ftraordinario, non hanno però ne pane, ne vino, ne fale, ne carni, ne legumi; ne alcun' altro cibo comune nell' Europa, ma fi contentano del gran Turchefco cotto nell' acqua pura, ò condito quando poffono di qualche pefce, ò carne frefca, ò fumata, senz' alcun vfo di fale, ò d' altro condimento. E di quefto grano fono feminati i campi che [9] coltiuano. Doppo il noftro arriuato vi feminauano anche qualche faua, ò fagioli. Il vestire degli huomini è libero, ma eccetto vna natione d' alcuni Algonchini, tutti coprono almeno quello, à che l' honeftà gli obliga: ma le donne fono molto più coperte; le Hurone nelle cafe fteffe, almeno dalla cintura fino al ginocchio; l' Algonchine, più, che le più religiofe in Europa. Quefte vesti

their food, dress, dwellings, sleeping accommodations, and manner of travel. The roving Barbarians, before knowing the French, lived solely by hunting or fishing, and, through necessity, fasted more than half the year—having no notion of Economy, and frequently lacking the means of preserving game or fish a long time, when these abounded, as they had no salt; while the smoke which they used in place of salt, was not adequate for preserving provisions a long time; whence they frequently died of hunger, or sometimes inflicted death out of pity. But, since they have had commerce with the French, those who are situated near the sea have, by the exchange of their Beaver skins, provisions for some part of the Year.

But the Hurons and other Peoples distant from the sea, who are sedentary, hunt only for pleasure, or on extraordinary occasions; yet they have neither bread, nor wine, nor salt, nor meat, nor vegetables, nor any other food usual in Europe. They content themselves with Turkish corn cooked in pure water, or seasoned, when possible, with some fish or meat, fresh or smoked, without any use of salt or other condiment; and with this grain are sown the fields which [9] they cultivate. After our arrival, they also planted there beans, both large and small. The men's clothing is light, but—excepting a certain nation made up of a few Algonquins—all cover at least that which decency demands; but the women are much more covered,—the Huron women, even in the house, at least from the waist to the knee; the Algonquin women, more than the most religious women in Europe. These garments are commonly of skins of various kinds of animals, sewed together, in size, five or six palms square;²¹ and they serve as

fono comunemète di pelli di diuerfe forti d' animali, cucite inſieme, della grandezza di cinque, ò ſei palmi in quadro, e ſeruono la notte di coperta. Fanno delle ſteſſe pelli ſenza grande artificio e maniche, e calzette per l' Inuerno. Vna delle noſtre coperte ſeruirebbe per veſtir il dî, & coprir la notte due Barbari tutto vn' inuerno. Le nauigationi, che fanno affai lunghe, e periculoſe in fiumi, e laghi vaſtiſſimi à nationi lontaniffime, per il traffico del caſtoro, le fanno in barchette di ſcorze, nō più groſſe d' vn teſtone, capaci al più d' 8. ò 10. perfone, ma comunemente non più, che di tre, ò quattro: e le gouernano deſtramente, e quaſi ſenza pericolo. Per caſe hanno tanto gli Algonchini, quanto gli Huroni non altro, che capanne; ma li primi di ſcorze fottili come pergameno, che ſtendono hor quà, hor là ſecondo il biſogno ſopra alcune pertiche, che fanno, come l' offatura della capanna; li ſecondi fanno terre, ò caſtelli fortificati di pali incrociati, e trauerſati di tronchi d' alberi per ripararſi da colpi de' nemici, e fanno le loro capanne di 10. 15. 20. 30. e 40. canne di longo di groſſe ſcorze ſoſtenute da traui, che ſeruono per ſoſtentare i loro grani per ſeccarli l' inuerno. Ma nè gli vni, nè gli altri hanno altro letto, che ò qualche ramo d' alberi, come i primi, ò qualche ſcorza, ò ſtora, come i ſecondi, ſenza tauole, banchi, ò coſa ſimile; la terra, ò qualche ſcorza ſeruendoli di tutto. E queſto era il viuere, & albergare de noſtri in queſte miſſioni, che però ſono ſtate ſtimate da molti le più penoſe della noſtra Compagnia.

cover at night. They make of the same skins, in rather crude fashion, both sleeves and stockings for Winter. One of our blankets would serve to clothe by day and cover by night two Barbarians, during a whole winter. The somewhat long and dangerous navigation which they conduct, on rivers and enormous lakes, with very distant nations for the beaver trade, is effected in little boats of bark, no thicker than a testone,²²—holding at the most 8 or 10 persons, but commonly not more than three or four; they manœuvre these dexterously, and almost without danger. For houses, both the Algonquins and the Hurons have nothing else than cabins; but the former make them of bark, light as parchment, which they stretch now here, now there, according to need, over certain poles which form, as it were, the skeleton of the cabin. The latter build enclosed towns, or fortified strongholds, with crossed stakes, traversed with trunks of trees, to protect themselves from attacks of enemies; and make their cabins 10, 15, 20, 30, or 40 cannes²³ in length, of great pieces of bark supported by beams, which serve to hold up their corn, to dry it in winter. But neither of them have any other bed than either some branches of trees, used by the former, or some bark or matting, used by the latter,—without tables, benches, or anything of the kind, the earth or some bark serving them for every purpose. And this was the living and lodging of ours in those missions,—which, indeed, were thought by many to be more arduous than any other missions of our Society.

But, in this almost unexampled poverty, there are nevertheless among them both poor and rich, noble and plebeian; and they have their ornaments,—

Ma in quella quasi estrema pouertà non lascian d' effer tra di loro e poueri, e ricchi, nobili, & ignobili, & hãno i loro ornamēti, massime le donne, per le publiche feste, e cerimonie di giuoci, balli, e festini, che hãno poco più, che il nome comune con quelli d' Europa. I loro costumi son differēti da' nostri, e in pace, e in guerra, e in publico, e in particolare: nō si scuoprono per salutare, essendo prima di conoscere i Frãcesi, sēpre scoperti. Ma il silētio, e l' obediēza de' giouani verso gli attēpati seruono di riuerēza, e p saluto ordinario si cōtētano d' vn buō dì, ch' in lingua loro s' esprime dicēdo. Quoe.

[10] Le donne portano i capelli tutti vniti in vna treccia, che gli cade dietro le spalle; gli huomini diuersamente; altri si radono la metà della testa: altri tutta, lasciandoci solo alcuni fiocchi di capelli quà, e là; altri nutriscono longhissima la chioma, & è il più comune; altri li lasciano in mezzo, ò nella fronte, dritti come setole; quindi i primi Francesi diedero à nostri Barbari il nome di Huroni per la hure, cioè per i crini dritti come setole di cignale, che portauano in mezzo al capo; che questo significa in Francese, hure. Ma tutti gli hanno comunemente neri, & odiano grandemēte i ricci, cosa tra essi affatto rara, se pure ve n' è alcuno.

Pingonfi in diuerse maniere, & in varie occasioni la faccia, e molti il corpo tutto; alcuni superficialmente, e di passaggio, altri per sempre; i primi hora di nero, hora di rosso, hora di diuersi colori; questi comparisce artificiosamente barbato, quegli pare porti gli occhi-

especially the women,—for the public feasts and ceremonies of games, dances, and feasts, which have little more than the name in common with those of Europe. Their customs are different from ours, both in peace and in war, both in public and in private; they do not uncover in making salutation, having been always uncovered before knowing the French. But silence and obedience of the young men toward the elders, serve as marks of respect; and, for ordinary salutation, they content themselves with a “good day,” which in their language is expressed by saying *Quoe*.

[10] The women wear their hair in a single braid, which falls behind their shoulders; the men, in various ways. Some shave half of the head; others, all, leaving only some tufts of hair here and there; others allow the hair to grow very long, and this is the most common: others leave it, in the middle, or on the forehead, straight as bristles. From this the first Frenchmen gave our Barbarians the name of Hurons, because of the *hure*,—that is to say, because of the straight locks, like bristles of a wild boar, which they wore on the middle of the head, as this is what *hure* signifies in French. They all commonly have black hair, and greatly hate curls—something exceedingly rare among them, if indeed they are found at all.

They paint their faces in various styles, and on sundry occasions; and many, their whole bodies,—some superficially and temporarily, others permanently. The former paint themselves, now black, now red, now various colors: these appear artistically bearded, those seem to wear spectacles; some have the whole face striped with various colors,

ali; queiti hà tutta la faccia rigata di varij colori; quegli vna sola metà; tutti però lucente per l' olio, ò graffo, che mefcolano ne' lor colori: il nero lo pigliano comunemente dal fondo delle pentole; gli altri colori fono di varie terre, come lacca, ò di certe radiche, che rendono il colore d' vn finiffimo fcarlatto: e fi pingono sì bene, che alcuni à prima vifta han creduto effer veramente veftiti alcuni Barbari, che perfettamente nudi, altra veftite non haueuano, che di puro colore.

Ma quei, che fi pingono permanentemente, lo fanno con eftremo dolore; feruendofi per quefto di achi, di acute lefine, ò di pungenti fpine, con le quali forandofi, ò facendofi da altri forar la pelle, fi formano ful vifo, ful collo, ful petto, ò altra parte del corpo qualche animale, ò mostro, per efempio vn' Aquila, vn Serpente, vn Drago, ò altra figura, che più gli aggrada: e paffando poi fopra il freſco, e fanguinofo difegno poluere di carbone, ò altro nero colore, che fi meſcola col fangue, e penetra ne' fatti buchi; imprimono indelebilmente nella viuua pelle le difegnate figure. E queſto in alcune nationi è sì commune che in quella, che chiamauamo del Tabacco, & in quella, che per hauer pace con gli Huroni, e con gl' Hirocheſi fi chiamaua Neutra, non sò fe fi trouaſſe vn folo, che non foſſe in queſto modo, in qualche parte dipinto. E vero, che quando la pittura è d' vna gran parte del corpo, è pericolofa, maſſime in tempo freddo, & ò per qualche ſpetie di ſpaſimo, ò per altra ragione, hà cauſata à più d' vno la morte: facendolo martire

others, only half,—but all, shining with oil or grease, which they mix in their colors. Black they commonly take from the bottom of the pots; the other colors are of various earths, as lake, or are derived from certain roots, which yield a very fine scarlet color: and they paint themselves so well that some, at first sight, have supposed certain Barbarians to be clothed, who were perfectly naked,—their clothes consisting only of paint.

But those who paint themselves permanently do so with extreme pain,—using, for this purpose, needles, sharp awls, or piercing thorns, with which they perforate, or have others perforate, the skin. Thus they form on the face, the neck, the breast, or some other part of the body, some animal or monster,—for instance, an Eagle, a Serpent, a Dragon, or any other figure which they prefer; and then, tracing over the fresh and bloody design some powdered charcoal, or other black coloring matter, which becomes mixed with the blood and penetrates within these perforations, they imprint indelibly upon the living skin the designed figures. And this in some nations is so common that in the one which we called the Tobacco, and in that which—on account of enjoying peace with the Hurons and with the Hiroquois—was called Neutral, I know not whether a single individual was found, who was not painted in this manner, on some part of the body. And indeed, when the painting covers a great part of the body, it is dangerous, especially in cold weather; and—either through some sort of convulsion, or for some other reason—it has caused the death of more than one, making him a martyr to vanity and a fantastic caprice, [10 i.e., 11] in the fulfillment of which they

della vanità, e d' vn bizzarro capriccio: [10 i.e., 11] nell' adempimento del quale non danno comunemente fegno di dolore, ancorche lo fperimentino acutiffimo.

Le ragioni, che hanno di pingerfi, maffime di paffaggio non fono certamente barbare. Questa Pittura: l' inuerno gli ferue di mafchera contro il freddo, & il ghiaccio: in guerra impedisce, che il volto non li tradifca, palefando l' interna paura; gli fa più terribili al nemico, e cela l' età ò troppo tenera, ò troppo caduca, che aggiungerebbe con l' animo le forze all' auuerfario. Serue d' ornamento nelle publiche feſte, e aſſẽblee. Pingono ãche i prigionì deſtinati al foco, come vittime confacrate al Dio della guerra, e gli ornano come gli antichi ornauano le loro. Il medefimo fan anche a lor morti p le ſteſſe raggioni, per le quali orniamo i noſtri. E perche il pingerſi è proprio degli homini; è delli ſteſſi, e nõ delle dõne il proprio portare ãche in guerra ſpecchietti attaccati al collo, ò ne loro facchetti doue tègono il Tabacco, del quale in fumo vſano perpetuamente, nelle aſſemblee, e da per tutto. Hanno l' vſo delle ſtufe; ma Barbaro: chiudono groſſe pietre infocate in piccola capannella, doue ſi ragunano 15. e 20. perfone aſſiſe da Scimie, che ſi toccano inſieme, e vi ſtãno le hore intiere procurando anche con vn canto incompoſto, che v' aggiungono, exceſſiuo fudore, ed indi vfcẽdo, anche nel principio dell' inuerno, ſi gettano in qualche lago, ò fiume talhora mezzo agghiacciato, d' onde nõ sò come ne ritornino fẽza pũtura. Le fãno per

commonly give no sign of pain, although they experience it most acutely.

The reasons which they have for painting themselves,—especially for a temporary purpose,—are certainly not barbarous. This Painting serves them in winter as a mask against the cold and the ice; in war, it prevents their countenances from betraying them by revealing inward fear, makes them more terrible to the enemy, and conceals extremes of youth or age, which might inspire strength and courage in the adversary. It serves as adornment at the public feasts and assemblies. They also paint the prisoners destined to the flames, as victims consecrated to the God of war, and adorn them as the ancients adorned theirs. They do the same also to their dead, for the same reasons for which we adorn ours. And as painting themselves is peculiar to the men, so it is the custom of men, and not of the women, to wear even in war little mirrors about their necks, or in the small pouches in which they carry the Tobacco which they smoke perpetually,—at the assemblies, and everywhere. They use hot baths, but in a very Barbarous manner; they inclose large stones, red-hot, in a little cabin, where 15 or 20 persons come together, seated like Apes, who touch one another closely, and remain there during whole hours,—working themselves, while singing violently, into an excessive perspiration; and on issuing thence, even at the beginning of winter, they plunge into some half-frozen lake or river, from which, inexplicable though it seem, they return without distress. They do this from superstition, for cleanliness, for health, and for pleasure; it is thus that they refresh and invigorate themselves in the

superstitione, p politia, per fanità, e per delitie; così si rinfrescano, e rinuigoriscono nel mezzo de' lūghi viaggi, e rimediano alla stanchezza nel ritorno. Ne' lor cōuiti, oue conuengono à centinaia, si publican tutte le viuande ad vna, ad vna, & à ciascuna si risponde alta, e fortemente con voce di ringratiamento oh, oh. con la H. che gl' Italiani difficilmente pronuntierebbero. Si canta le hore intiere prima di mangiare. Vno canta, e tutti rispōdono con voce forte di petto, alla cadēza; oh oh. Ma succedono nel canto gli vni à gli altri, e chi hà presa qualche fiera, ò fa il festino, non ne mangia; ma ò canta, ò discorre mentre gli altri ne godono. Prima di conoscer gli Europei, non hauendo caldaie per cuocere i viueri, massime ne' viaggi, faceuano vna fossa in terra, e l' ēpiuano d' acqua, che faceuano bollire con estinguerui dentro diuerse pietre à questo fine prima infocate. I loro balli sono men varij, ma più graui de nostri, de quali lodano la destrezza, ma negli huomini li condānano di leggierezza, che non si nota tra essi, che da giouani s' auuezzano ad vna forsi troppo feria maturità.

[12] I Matrimonij sono simili à quelli degli antichi Giudei, pigliando assai comunemente il fratello la moglie del morto fratello, mai contrahendo con i confanguinei, benchè remoti, ma preferendo sempre gli affini ad ogn' altro. L' huomo dota la Donna, la quale porta tutto il peso della casa, coltiua i campi, fà, e porta le legna, prepara la cucina, e si carica ne' viaggi de' viueri &c. per il marito; proprio degli

midst of long journeys, and obviate fatigue upon returning. At their feasts, where they assemble by the hundred, all the dishes are announced, one by one; and at each the answer is made in a loud and strong voice, with this expression of thanks: "oh, oh,"—uttered with an H, which the Italians would pronounce with difficulty. There is singing for whole hours before eating. One sings, and all respond in a strong voice, from the chest, in measured time: "oh, oh." But they succeed one another in the song; and he who has taken some wild beast, or who makes the feast, does not eat of it, but either sings or talks while the others partake thereof. Before knowing the Europeans, as they had no kettles for cooking victuals, especially on their journeys, they made a ditch in the earth, and filled it with water, which they caused to boil by cooling in it a number of stones, first heated red-hot for this purpose. They have not such a variety of dances as we have, but these are more grave than ours,—which they praise for dexterity, but regard them as too frivolous for men. This fault cannot be imputed to them; since, even as young men, they accustom themselves to perhaps a too serious maturity.

[12] Their Marriages are similar to those of the ancient Jews: the brother quite commonly taking the deceased brother's wife,—never contracting marriage with blood-relatives, however distant, but always preferring affinity to any other connection. The man endows the Woman, who bears the whole burden of the house, cultivates the fields, cuts and carries the firewood, does the cooking, and loads herself, on the journeys, with provisions, etc., for the husband. The part of the men is only war, hunting, fishing,

huomini effendo folo la guerra, la caccia, la pefca, il traffico in diuerfi paefi, e di preparar le cofe per ciò neceffarie, come l' armi offenfue, e difenfue, barche, remi, e racchette per andar fopra le neui: & in quefto ogn' vno riefce sì bene, che gli Europei fteffi non farebbero meglio fare le cofe loro neceffarie per i viaggi, alloggiamenti ne' bofchi, e nauigatione. Onde non fono Barbari quaſi, che di nome. Ne biſogna concepirli come mezze beſtie, pelofi, neri, difformi. Sono ſenza barba, ò pelo altro, che i capelli, come gli Americani della Zona torrida; forſi perche i due eſtremi di caldo, e di freddo fanno gl' iſteſſi effetti: così gli animali fanno la concottione, tanto per la forza del freddo, quanto del caldo naturale: l' hò ſperimentato nel merluzzo peſce auidiſſimo, e che digerifce quaſi ogni coſa; l' hò aperto ancor viuo, e trouato il freddo del ſuo ſtomaco quaſi inſopportabile alla mia mano. E ſe il freddo dell' Europa non fa lo ſteſſo ne' paefi più ſettentrionali, è forſi per i molti rimedij de' vini, acqua vita, ſpetie, fale, ſtufe &c. ch' adoprano, delle quali cofe tutte i noſtri Barbari non fanno ne anche il nome. Non ſono molto bruni, particolarmente quando ſon putti; ſon forti, alti di ſtatura, e proportionati, più fani di noi, nō ſapendo ne anche il nome di quãtità di malatie comuni in Europa, come di pietra, podagra, rottura &c. Non ſi vedono nè gobbi, nè nani, nè molto corpulenti, nè di groſſa gola &c. ſono affabili tra di loro, e ſi viſitano ſpeſſiſſimo, e vorrebbero paſſare per liberali, e diſintereſſati, ma ſon certo degni d' ammiratione particolarmente in

trade, in various countries, and the preparation of the things thereto necessary,—as offensive and defensive weapons, boats, oars, and snowshoes for going over the snows; and in these industries every one succeeds so well that the Europeans themselves would not know a better way of devising the things necessary to them for journeys, for lodging in the woods, and for navigation. Wherefore, they are hardly Barbarians, save in name. There is no occasion to think of them as half beasts, shaggy, black, and hideous. They are without a beard, or other hair than that of the head, like the Americans of the torrid Zone, perhaps because the two extremes of heat and cold produce the same effects: thus animals accomplish digestion both by the action of cold and by natural heat. I have tested this in the cod,—a very greedy fish, which digests almost everything; I have opened it, while still alive, and found the cold of its stomach well-nigh unendurable to my hand. And, if the cold of Europe does not have the same effect in the more northern countries, it is perhaps because of the many palliatives of cold, such as wines, brandy, spices, salt, stoves, etc., which they employ,—all of which things our Barbarians do not even know the name. They are not very dark, especially in their youth; they are strong, tall in stature, and well-proportioned: more healthy than we,—not even knowing the name of many diseases common in Europe, such as the stone, gout, rupture, etc. They are not found either hunchbacked or dwarfed, or very corpulent, or with goiters, etc. They are affable to one another, exchange visits very frequently, and like to be regarded as liberal and disinterested. They are certainly worthy of par-

quattro cose, primo ne' sensi quali hanno perfettissimi; e benché passino quasi sei mesi senza veder di fuori altro, che neue, e nelle capanne altro, che fumo, hanno con tutto ciò vna vista acutissima; vdito eccellente, & harmonico; odorato raro, differente solo dal nostro, che stimano il muschio puzzolente, & indifferenti gli odori di cose, che non sono comeestibili, e con questo senso scuoprono spesso il fuoco molto prima di vederlo, massime la notte. Hanno il tatto, e la pelle delicatissima, à che forse anco feruono l' vntioni tra di loro comuni, come anticamente tra li Gentili, [11 i.e., 13] e gli Hebrei. Le fanno di tutto il corpo, quando hanno di che farla, e massime de' capelli per diuerse, e buonissime ragioni. Secondo hanno vna costanza ammirabile ne' disagi; soffriranno dieci, e quindici dì di fame, qualche volta per superstitione, il più per necessità; il fuoco senza gridare, à che i giouani si accostumano dall' età di dieci, ò dodici anni, legandosi due di essi le braccia insieme, e poi mettendo vn carbone tra le due braccia per vedere chi lo scuoterà il primo per sprezzarlo; freddo, caldo, dolori, malattie senza lamentarsi, e se trà i dolori la scrittura sacra stima i maggiori quelli del parto, le donne per massima di magnanimità partoriscono senza dar alcun segno di dolore, e se gridassero farebbono stimare codarde, disprezzate, e non trouarebbero più marito.

Terzo la loro imaginatione è prodigiosa in riconoscere i luoghi, e descriuerfegli gli vni à gli altri & in condursi ne' boschi, doue quasi mai si perdono. Io

ticular admiration in four things: first, their senses, which are most perfect,—so that, although they spend nearly six months without seeing anything but snow outside, and in their cabins, nothing but smoke,—they have, nevertheless, exceedingly acute vision, excellent hearing, an ear for music, and a rare sense of smell,—differing from ours only in this, that they esteem musk ill-smelling, and are indifferent to the odors of things which are not eatable. With this sense they frequently discover fire long before seeing it, especially at night. Their touch and skin are very delicate, their sensibility being perhaps increased by the ointments commonly used among them, as anciently among the Gentiles [11 i.e., 13] and the Hebrews. They anoint, when they have the means, the whole body, and especially the hair, for various and most excellent reasons. Secondly, they have an admirable fortitude in hardships: they endure hunger for ten or fifteen days,—sometimes from superstition, mostly by necessity; fire they endure without crying out. The youth accustom themselves to this from the age of ten or twelve years, two of them binding their arms together, and then putting a coal between the two arms, to see who will shake it off the first; they despise him who loses. They endure cold, heat, pains, or diseases, without complaining; and while, among physical pains, the sacred scripture esteems those of childbirth the greatest, the women, to set an example of courage, bring forth without giving any sign of pain; for, if they cried out, they would be despised and deemed cowardly, and could not again find husbands.

Thirdly, they possess a marvelous faculty for remembering places, and for describing them to one

hò sperimentato più volte in tempo nuuolo ò di notte di condur qualche Barbaro in disparte feruendomi di buffola per prouare di fargli perder l' idea delle quattro parti del Mondo, e doppo interrogarlo, doue fosse l' Oriente, doue il mezzo dì, doue il paese de' nemici, doue il nostro; mai hò trouato, che s' ingānassero conducendosi così sicuri con la loro idea, che io con la mia buffola; e questo è vn talento come naturale, del quale li giouani stessi, e le donne si feruono nelle occasioni, e particolarmente per fuggire quando sono prigionie nelle mani de' nemici, e fare le tre, e 400. miglia ne' boschi, doue non è alcun camino per ricourarsi alle nostre habitationi, di che vediamo ogn' anno molte volte l' esperienza.

Quarto vna memoria tenacissima, non hanno ne libri, ne scritture, i negotij si trattano per ambasciate, nelle quali io mi sono stupito di vedere di quante cose, e di quante circostanze mai si ricordano. Ma spicca ancor più ne' Capitani, i quali si feruono in vece de' libri di bastoncelli, che alle volte notano con certi segni, alle volte nò con aiuto de' quali diranno i nomi di cento, e più presenti, le conclusioni prese ne' confegli, e mille altre particolarità, che noi non sapremmo ridire senza scriuere.

Intendono, e discorrono bene, hanno vna eccellente narratiua, e grand' eloquenza, e delle materie delle quali hanno i principij trattano sì bene, che li Europei i più sensati. In Francia hanno creduto finti i loro discorsi, e concioni, che nelle nostre relationi

another, and for guiding themselves in the woods where they hardly ever lose their way. I have several times tried, in cloudy weather, or by night, to lead some Barbarian astray,—using the compass, in the endeavor to confuse his notions of the four quarters of the World, and then questioning him where was the East, where the south, where the country of the enemy, where our own; yet I have never found that they were deceived, for they guided themselves just as securely by their senses as I by my compass. Indeed, this is a talent in a manner natural, which even the youths and the women use on occasion,—and particularly, to flee when they are prisoners in the hands of the enemy, and to travel three or 400 miles in the woods, where there is no road, in order to take refuge in our settlements: the proof of this we see many times every year.

Fourthly, a very tenacious memory. They have neither books nor writings; negotiations are carried on through embassies, in which I have been amazed to see how many things and how many circumstances they recollect. But this faculty shines forth still more in the Captains, who use little sticks instead of books, which they sometimes mark with certain signs, sometimes not. By the aid of these they can repeat the names of a hundred or more presents, the decisions adopted in the councils, and a thousand other particulars, which we could not rehearse without writing.

They have a clever understanding and good judgment, also an excellent style of narration, and great eloquence; and matters, of which they possess the fundamental elements, they handle just as well as the most sagacious Europeans. In France, people

riferiuamo; ma io afficuro, che la maggior parte, come traslatate [12 i.e., 14] in altra lingua fono ancora men forti che nella loro.

Ci hanno spesso perfuaso in negotij d' importanza, e fatte cangiar le risoluzioni, che doppo diuersi effami haueuamo prese per il bene del paese. Non dubito, che siano capaci delle scienze, hanno l' orecchia armonica, & eccellente per la musica, ma la loro è diuersa, & in qualche modo più martiale, che la nostra.

Non s' insegna con arte, ma i più esperti l' ammirano trà gli effetti della natura. Noi l' habbiamo sperimentati capacissimi non solo della fede, che è più eccellente di tutte le scienze, ma ancora della vera scienza de' Santi, cioè à dire d' vna foderissima, e tenerissima deuotione.

have believed that their speeches and addresses, which we reported in our relations were fictitious; but I can assert that most of these, when translated [12 i.e., 14] into another language, are much less powerful than in their own.

They have often persuaded us in affairs of importance, and made us change the resolutions which, after mature deliberation we had taken for the weal of the country. I doubt not that they are capable of the sciences: they have a harmonious and excellent ear for music; but their music is different from, and in some degree more martial, than ours.

It is not taught as an art, but, as the most expert declare, is admired as a natural accomplishment with many. We have proved them to be most capable not only of faith, which is more excellent than all the sciences, but also of the true science of the Saints,—that is to say, of a most constant and most tender devotion.

CAPITOLO QVARTO.

POLITICA DE BARBARI CANADESI.

NON parlo di tutte le nationi di questi paesi, nè di tutta la loro politica, che è mirabile in questo, che essendo differentissima dalla nostra, e per tanto à molti sconosciuta, non lascia di fare gl' istessi, e migliori effetti, che questa, vedendosi in vna somma libertà pochissimi disordini. Parlo solo delle nationi, che noi conosciamo, e particolarmente degli Huroni.

Non hanno questi popoli nè Rè, nè Prencipe assoluto, ma certi come capi di Republica, che noi chiamiamo Capitani, differenti però da quelli di guerra; questi hanno comunemente la carica per successione da parte di donna, alcune volte per elettione. S' impossessano dell' offitio morto il predecessore (il quale dicono resuscitare) non senza qualche solennità. Questi Capitani non hanno *vim coactivam*, la quale i Padri stessi non esercitano verso i figli per correggerli, servendosi solo di parole, & i figli così alleuati, quanto più crescono in età, tanto più amano, e rispettano i loro padri, ottengono dunque tutto tanto i primi, come i secondi *precario* con eloquenza, esortatione, e prieghi, e come *signatum est super nos lumen vultus Domini* per inculti, che fossero, prima del nostro arriuo non lasciavano di conoscere, & il vizio, e la

CHAPTER FOURTH.

GOVERNMENT OF THE CANADIAN BARBARIANS.

I DO not speak of all the nations of these countries, nor of all that concerns their government, which is admirable in this, that, being very different from ours, and therefore to many unknown, it is nevertheless quite as effective as our own, and even more so, since there appear, amid conditions of extreme liberty, very few disorders. I speak only of the nations which we know, and particularly of the Hurons.

These peoples have neither King nor absolute Prince, but certain chiefs, like the heads of a Republic, whom we call Captains,—different, however, from those in war. These hold office commonly by succession on the side of the women, sometimes by election. They assume office at the death of a predecessor (who, they say, is resuscitated in them). This is celebrated with certain ceremonies. These Captains have not *vim coactivam*, which even the Fathers do not exercise over their sons in order to correct them, as they use words alone; and, thus brought up, the more the sons increase in age, the more they love and respect their fathers. Therefore both the former and the latter obtain everything *precario* by eloquence, exhortation, and entreaties; and, as *signatum est super nos lumen vultus Domini*, rude though they were before our arrival, they were nevertheless acquainted with both vice and virtue;

virtù, e liberi, & indisciplinati quanto dir si possa poneuamo al primo qualche rimedio. Anzi tra loro certe virtù erano sì comuni, che non si stimauano tali, come l' hospitalità sì grande, che riceueua ogn' vno senza cacciarlo mai di casa, feruendolo, e dandogli à viuere, come a' più domestici, senza chiederne alcun pagamento. Vna pazienza inuita ne' disaggi, vna costanza in riceuere intrepidi le nuoue più acerbe, come quella della morte. Vna tranquillità [13 i.e., 15] imperturbabile contro de paesani, che gli offendono, con pregiudizio anche de' loro beni; & vna certa honestà esteriore nel trattare, che impedisce mille leggierezze, che sono assai comuni ne' giouani Europei, massime di diuerso sesso, se niun' altro rispetto li ritiene. Ma con queste apparenti virtù haueuano veri vitij interni, & esterni. Ad interna superbia attribuisco il detto di vn Capitano, che ferito da vn giouane, e vedendo i suoi solleuati per farne vendetta gli ritenne con dire basta, non hauete sentito tremar la terra per horrore di questa temerità? questa li fa da stoici diffimulare le passioni massime di sdegno, & è gran rimprovero il dire à chi comincia ad adirarsi, dunque tu t' adiri? tra gli esterni vno de' più comuni era il furto, del quale si sono sempre vantati, come d' vna grand' industria potèdolo fare senza esser scoperti. Ogni cosa li seruiua di materia, e non sapendone altr' uso, se ne seruiuano per ornarsi. Rubbauano con le mani, e co' piedi in presenza, & in assenza del padrone, non per vtil proprio, ma per puro vitio. Hanno alcune volte rubbato istromenti

and although free and undisciplined to the last degree, we soon wrought some improvement. On the other hand, certain virtues were so common among them, that they were not esteemed as such: for instance, a hospitality so great that they received every comer,—never driving him from the hut, but serving him and giving him whatever he needed just as to the most intimate members of the household, without asking any pay for it. They also show an invincible patience in trials; a fortitude in receiving unmoved the most bitter news, as that of death; an imperturbable tranquillity [13 i.e., 15] when wronged by fellow-countrymen, even when they suffer personal loss; and a certain external seemliness in their behavior, which prevents a thousand levities that are quite common among European youth, especially when both sexes mingle without any external restraint. But, with these apparent virtues, they have genuine vices, within and without. To internal pride I attribute the saying of a Captain, who, being wounded by a young man, and seeing his people aroused to take vengeance therefor, checked them by saying: “Enough; did you not feel the earth shake with horror at that audacity?” This causes them stoically to dissimulate their passions, especially that of resentment; and it is a great reproach to say to one who begins to grow angry, “So you are getting angry?” Among the external vices one of the most common was theft,—they always priding themselves on their great skill, when able to accomplish it without being discovered. They turned everything to account, using for the adornment of their persons whatever was not available otherwise. They used to steal with both their hands and their

di diuerſi meſtieri à loro affato inutili, ſtili d' horologij &c. & vna volta ad vn Padre de' noſtri, che diceua l' Officio al lume d' vna apertura della capanna leuorno per l' iſteſſa il breuiario dalle mani ſenza poter' egli vedere, nè giungere il ladro. Io ne trouai vno, che rubbaua la porta d' vna noſtra cappella. Ma non è impunito, e la pena è, che chi n' è conuinto, può eſſer giuſtamente ſualigiato lui, e tutta la caſa; e ſi pratica in modo tale, che vn' huomo, che hauerà per eſſempio rubbato vn' accetta, ò ſimil coſuccia, perderà, ſe ſi troua reo tutti i ſuoi beni, accette, caldaia, veſti, viueri, reti, canoa &c. fino à laſciarlo, ſe l' attore uſa di rigore, lui, la moglie, e i figli in vna perfetta nudità d' ogni coſa: e per euitare in queſta materia le liti, hanno ſtabilito, primo, che vna coſa perſa, ò caduta, quando non farebbe, che di tre paſſi, e preſa da chi che ſia non è furto, che è ſolo quando è preſa nelle capanne, ò caſſe; ſecondo, che colui, à chi qualche coſa è ſtata rubbata, riconoſcendola in mano di chi che ſia (nel che ſono marauiglioſi, diſtinguendo, non sò come, quaſi ouum ab ouo) non lo deue ſubito ſualigiare, ma interrogarlo, chi ti hà dato per eſſempio queſta ſpada? ſe l' altro nó riſponde, è ſtimato conuinto di furto; ſe dice di hauerla riceuuta in dono, ò cōpra da qualcheduno, deue dire il nome di chi glie l' hà data, ò venduta, & all hora l' altro vā à trouare il vēditore, e gli fà la ſteſſa domanda, e ſe queſto gli nomina vn' altro, vā [14 i.e., 16] à trouarlo, & eſſamina fin tanto, che ne troui vno, che non l' hà da neſſuno, & in queſto, & in coſe ſimili hanno vna

feet, in the presence and in the absence of the owner,—not for actual utility, but from pure vice. They have sometimes stolen implements of various trades, wholly useless to them, the hands of clocks, etc.; and once, when one of our Fathers was saying the Office by the light of a hole in the cabin, they took through that hole the breviary from his hands, without his being able to see or to catch the thief. I found one of them who was stealing the door of a chapel of ours. But theft is not unpunished,—the penalty being, that he who is convicted of it may be justly despoiled, he and all his house; and this is carried out in such a way that a man who may have stolen an axe, for instance, or a similar trifle, loses, if he is found guilty, all his goods,—axes, kettles, clothes, provisions, nets, canoe, etc.,—until, if the prosecutor use rigor, he, his wife, and his children are left in a total destitution of everything. To avoid contest in this matter, they have established, first, that if a thing, lost or dropped, even though it should be but three paces away, be taken, by any one whomsoever, this is not theft,—that it is so only when an object is taken from the cabins or huts; secondly, that the one from whom anything has been stolen, on recognizing it in the hands of another (wherein they are wonderful, distinguishing, I know not how, almost *ovum ab ovo*), must not suddenly seize it, but must question him,—for instance, “Who gave you that javelin?” If the other make no answer, he is deemed convicted of theft; if he say that he has received it as a gift, or bought it of some one, he must tell the name of him who gave or sold it to him. Then the other goes to find the seller, and puts the same question to him; and, if this one name

gran fincerità non nominando mai vn' innocente & il colpeuole con il filentio confeffandofi reo. Ci fù à questo propofito propofito vn cafo. Vna pouera donna, che non haueua altra ricchezza, che vna collana di certi grani di conchiglie di mare, che i Francefi han chiamata porcellana, che è come la moneta, e le perle del paefe, per paura, che coltiuando il fuo campo, non gli fuffe rubbata nella capanna, la portò feco in vn facco, il quale acciò non gl' impediffe il lauoro attaccò al tronco d' vn' albero con intentione di ripigliarlo al partire. Se n' auuidde vna vicina, che lauoraua in vn' altro campo, e dubitò, che la buona vecchia fe ne fcordarebbe, e non lo perfe mai di vifta. La vecchia dopo qualche tempo lafcia il fuo campo per andare in vn' altro vicino, e la vicina, che non aspettava altro piglia alla fua prefenza il facco, e grida al modo del paefe: Io, hò fatto vn buon' incontro, e fe ne và. Hora il dubbio è, fe può quefta in confcienza ritenerlo, e fe la prima ha ius di fualigiarla. L' intentioni fono nafcofte, chi sà fe la padrona l' haueua di ritornare, come ella diceua nel campo fe non l' haueua il facco fecondo la conuentione del paefe fi ftima abbandonato, & *primo occupantis*, noi ci rimettemmo à i Capitani, de' quali notàmo la prudenza. Se la cofa fi riguarda in rigore, rifpofero la prefa è buona, almeno la vecchia non hà ius di fualigiare l' altra, ma l' altra deue fe non vuole effer ftimata fcortefe, litigiofa, & auara rendere il facco, e contentarfi di qualche cortefia, ò mancia, che l' altra le deue.

to him another, he goes [14 i.e., 16] to find him, and continues the investigation until he finds one who has it from nobody. In this, and in similar things, they display great sincerity,—never naming an innocent man; while the guilty one, through his silence, confesses himself the culprit. A case in point was brought before us. A poor woman, who had no other wealth than a collar of certain beads made of sea-shells,—which the French have called *porcelaine*, and which are, as it were, the money and the pearls of the country,—for fear lest while cultivating her field it might be stolen from the cabin, carried it with her in a pouch, which, in order that she might not be hindered in her work, she attached to the trunk of a tree, intending to get it again upon going away. A neighbor of hers, who was at work in another field, espied it, and, suspecting that the good woman would forget it, she never lost sight of it. The old woman, after a while, leaves her field to go to another, near by; and the neighbor, who waited only for this, takes the pouch before her very eyes, and exclaims, after the manner of the country, “I have made a good find!” and goes away. Now the uncertainty is, whether this woman can legitimately keep it, or whether the other has the right to dispossess her. The intentions are obscure: for who knows whether the owner intended to return, as she said, into the field? If she did not, the pouch, according to the accepted usage of the country, is accounted as abandoned, *et primo occupantis*. We referred the matter to the Captains, of whose prudence we took note. “If the matter is considered with strictness,” they answered, “the prize is good,—at least the old woman has not the right to dispossess the other

Ma la politica, che hanno per impedire gli homicidij che sono rarissimi è degna d' esser quì riferita, e si vedrà in vn caso seguito li 28. d' Aprile dell' anno 1648. nella persona d' vn Francese, che per diuotione ci feruiua iui gratis ucciso dagli Huroni. Era questi vn giouane di 22. anni chiamato Giacomo Douart, che fù incontrato da due assassini, che cercauano qualch' vno di noi, ò de' nostri, il primo, che haueffero trouato solo in disparte per ucciderlo, l' ordine n' era stato dato da sei Capitani di tre Terre diuerse, nemiciissimi della fede, che pretendeuano per questo mezzo d' impedir la buona intelligenza tra noi, & i nostri Christiani, spaurirci tutti, e costringerci ad abbandonar il paese, e così impedir la predicatione dell' Euangelio, che stimauano cosa di pregiudizio à gl' interessi loro. L' uccisero d vn colpo d' accetta verso il tramontar [15 i.e., 17] del Sole, e la mattina seguente i nostri Christiani hauutane la nuoua vennero dalle contrade vicine per dirci, che questo colpo era vn' indizio certo di qualche congiura contro di noi, mà eccoci, foggiunfero tutti pronti à morire per la difesa de' nostri Padri, e della fede. Tutto il paese si commosse, onde i principali della natione conuennero ad vn consiglio generale, doue gli autori dell' homicidio mostrandosi quali erano nemici della fede, non mancarono di dire non solo, che non bisognaua far conto di quel, che era passato, mà di più ferrarci in faccia le porte de' lor borghi, e cacciarci dal paese, & altri aggiunfero, che era necessario mandar in esilio tutti i Christiani, & impedire, che il lor numero non crescesse. Ma il zelo

woman; but the latter, unless she wishes to be thought unmannerly, litigious, and avaricious, should give back the pouch, and content herself with some civility or gratuity, which the other owes her."

But the policy which they observe for preventing murders, which are very rare, is worthy to be reported here, and it will be seen in a case which occurred on the 28th of April in the year 1648. A Frenchman, who from devotion served us there for nothing, was killed by the Hurons. He was a young man of 22 years, called Jacques Douart. He was met by two assassins, who were seeking some one of us or of ours, with the intention of killing the first whom they should find alone. The order for this had been given by six Captains, from three several Villages, who were very hostile to the faith, and who intended, by that means, to hinder the good understanding between us and our Christians, to terrify us all, and to constrain us to abandon the country, and thus to prevent the preaching of the Gospel, which they deemed a thing prejudicial to their interests. They killed him with a hatchet-blow, toward [15 i.e., 17] Sunset; and on the following morning, our Christians, having received the report of it, came from the neighboring districts to tell us that this crime was a sure sign of certain plots against us: "But here we are," they added, "all ready to die for the defense of our Fathers and of the faith." The whole country became aroused: wherefore the leaders of the nation assembled in a general council, at which the authors of the murder, showing themselves to be enemies of the faith, did not fail to say, not only that it was necessary to make no account of what had happened, but further, that the gates of their villages

di queſti buoni neofiti ſpiccò grandemente in queſta occaſione; alcuni diceuano, che volentieri haurebbero laſciati i parenti, che amano teneramente, e la patria più toſto, che fare vn minimo torto alla lor fede; altri, che non ſtimaуano punto la vita preſente, dopo hauer conoſciuti gli auantaggi della futura. Io non temo diceua taluno il foco de gl' Hirocheſi, purché mi troui ſenza peccato, molto meno d' eſſer ſcannato per la fede, e di dar la mia vita à chi me la renderà immortale; altri altrimenti, ma tutti con vn zelo, e libertà veramente chriſtiana, biaſmaуano gli autori, e complici dell' homicidio ſenza però nominarli, ancorche li ſapeſſero. Queſta gente, diceuano, vuole la rouina del paefe, è ſtata ſenza dubbio con preſenti corrotta per tradirci, la fede non li piace, perche riprende i lor vitij che compariſchino, e ſi vedrà. Due, ò tre giorni ſi paſſarono in queſte ſante contefe, le quali ſeruirono e per accreſcer maggiormente il ſeruore de' noſtri Chriſtiani, e per far vedere l' amore, che portauano alla fede & à i loro maeftri, & in fine ad ottenere da' Capitani, e da' principali del paefe anche infedeli, che al nome del publico ci foſſe pienamente ſodisfatto, che è la loro politica in ſimili caſi.

Sarebbe tentar l' impoſſibile e rouinare ogni coſa più toſto, che rimediare proceder con i Barbari ſecondo la giuſtitia di quaſi tutte le nationi, condannando alla morte l' homicida; il publico è quello, che ſodisfà a' miſfatti del particolare, ò il colpeuole ſia conoſciuto, ò nò, in ſomma il miſfatto ſolo ſi caſtiga, e non il malfattore, e queſto, che altroue parrebbe vn' ingiuſti-

should be shut in our faces, and that we must be driven out of the country. Others added that all the Christians should be sent into exile, and their number kept from increasing. But the zeal of some good neophytes shone forth brightly on this occasion: some said that they would gladly have forsaken their kindred, whom they tenderly loved, and their native land, sooner than do wrong, in the least degree, to their faith; others, that they esteemed the present life as nothing after having learned the blessings of the future one. "I do not fear," said one, "the fire of the Hiroquois, provided I be found without sin; much less do I fear to be slain for the faith, and to give my life to one who will restore it to me, immortal." Others spoke otherwise, but all, with a zeal and freedom truly christian, censured the authors and abettors of the murder,—without naming them, however, although they knew them. "These people," they said, "wish the ruin of the country, and have no doubt been corrupted with gifts to betray us; the faith does not please them, because it reproves their vices; let them appear, and this will be seen." Two or three days passed in these holy contests, which served to increase still more the fervor of our Christians, and to show the love which they bore to the faith and to their teachers; and finally, to obtain from the Captains and the chief men of the country, although infidels, that, in the name of the public, such full satisfaction should be accorded to us, as their law prescribes in similar cases.

It would be attempting the impossible, and ruining everything, rather than affording a remedy, to proceed with the Barbarians according to the judicial usage of nearly all nations, by condemning the mur-

tia, è mezzo efficacissimo tra loro per impedire il corso di simili disordini. Hò creduto, che farebbe curiosità ragioneuole il sapere in questo i loro costumi particolari, però seguitarò l' *Historia* incominciata [16 i.e., 18] in poche parole. Rifoluti dunque di sodisfarci, ci chiamarono in vn consiglio generale, che haueuano fatto, doue vn vecchio Capitano in persona di tutti cominciò à parlare al Superiore della Missione in questa guisa. Fratello (sono quasi le sue stesse parole) ecco quì tutte le nationi radunate insieme per sodisfarti, le nominò tutte ad vna ad vna; noi non siamo più che vn pugno di gente, tu solo sostenti questo pouero paese, e lo porti nelle tue mani, vn fulmine l' ha colpito, e diuiso in due, ci hà aperto vn precipitio, doue se ci abbandoni, sicuramente ci abissiamo. Habbi dunque pietà di noi, che quì siamo per pianger la tua perdita, e la nostra più tosto, che per parlare. Questo paese altro non è, che vn scheletro senza carne, senza vene, senza nerui, senza arterie, siamo come offa secche, che erano legate con vn filo affai delicato insieme, il colpo scaricato sopra la testa del tuo nipote, che piangiamo, hà rotto questo legame, è stato il Demonio, che hà messo l' accetta in mano dell' affaffino. Fosti tu forsi ò Sole, che lo conducesti à sì infelice misfatto? Perche non oscurasti il tuo lume, affinche egli stesso haueffe horrore della sua temerità? N' eri tu forsi complice? Non per certo, poiche caminaua nelle tenebre, e non sapeua doue andasse. Si pensaua l' infelice di dar dritto sopra la testa d' vn giouane Francese, e colpì

derer to death: it is the public that gives satisfaction for the crimes of the individual, whether the culprit be known or not. In fine, the crime alone is punished, and not the criminal; and this, which elsewhere would appear an injustice, is among them a most efficacious means for preventing the spread of similar disorders. I have believed that it might be a reasonable curiosity to wish to know, in this matter, their particular customs; howbeit, I will continue in a few words the Story begun above. [16 i.e., 18] Having, then, resolved to make satisfaction to us, they called us to a general council which they had convened; at which an old Captain, in the name of them all, began to speak to the Superior of the Mission in this wise: "Brother" (these are almost his own words), "thou seest here all the nations assembled together to make satisfaction to you,"—he named them all, one by one; "we are no more than a handful of people; thou alone sustainest this poor country, and bearest it in thy hands. A thunderbolt has struck it, and rent it in two; it has opened a chasm before us, wherein, if thou abandon us, we shall surely be swallowed up. Have therefore pity on us, who are here to lament thy loss, and ours, rather than to speak. This country is nothing but a skeleton, without flesh, without veins, without sinews, without arteries; we are like dry bones, bound together with a very delicate thread. The blow dealt upon the head of thy nephew, whom we mourn, has broken that bond; it was the Demon who put the axe in the hand of the assassin. Was it perchance thou, O Sun, who didst lead him to commit so wretched a crime? Why didst thou not darken thy light, that he himself might be horrified at his own

la sua patria di piaga mortale; la terra s' aprì per riceuere il fangue dell' innocente, & hà fatto vn' abisso per inghiottirci tutti, già che siamo tutti colpeuoli. I nostri nimici si rallegraranno di questa morte, e faranno la solennità d' vn glorioso trionfo, vedendo, che l' armi nostre distruggon noi stessi, e fanno sì bei colpi à lor fauore. Continuò in questa guisa lungo tempo, e poi, fratello, soggiunse, habbi pietà di questo paese, tu solo li puoi tender la vita, à te tocca il riunire quest' ossa dissipate, tu deui chiuder la bocca di questo abisso, che stà per ingoiarci, habbi pietà del tuo paese, che tuo chiamo, perche te ne facciamo il padrone, e noi siam quì come rei, per riceuer la condannagione, se senza misericordia trattarci vuoi, habbi pietà di coloro, che accusando se stessi, vengon per chiederti humilmente perdono. Tu hai assicurato il paese con stabilirci la tua dimora, se te ne parti noi faremo come paglie fradicate, che solo seruono per trastullo de venti. Questa Terra è vn' Isola, che vacilla, & è per esser sommersa nella prima tempesta, stabiliscila tù, e la posterità te ne lodarà senza scordarsene mai. Alle prime nuoue di questa morte habbiamo abbandonato ogni cosa, & altro [17 i.e., 19] con noi non portiamo, che lagrime, e pentimento, pronti ad effeguire quanto per riparatione della colpa commessa, ci ordinarai, parla dunque. che vuoi? tue sono le nostre vite, e molto più i nostri beni, volëtieri ce ne spogliaremo per sodisfarti, spogliaremo i nostri figli per cōtentarti, nè te ne incolparemo, ma si bene colui, che ci fece rei. Cōtro di lui riuolteremo i

temerity? Wast thou, perhaps, his accomplice? No, forsooth, since he was walking in the darkness, and knew not whither he went. The unhappy man thought to strike directly upon the head of a young Frenchman, and struck his own country with a mortal wound; the earth opened to receive the blood of the innocent, and has made a chasm to engulf us all, now that we are all guilty. Our enemies will rejoice in this death, and will celebrate a glorious triumph, on seeing that our arms destroy ourselves, and deal such telling blows in their favor." He continued in this strain a long time, and then added: "Brother, have pity on this country; thou alone canst give life to it. To thee it pertains to gather together these scattered bones; thou must close the mouth of this chasm which stands ready to engulf us; have pity on thy country, which we call thine, because we make thee the master of it. We are here like criminals, to receive condemnation, if thou choose to treat us without mercy; have pity on those who, accusing themselves, come humbly to ask thy pardon. Thou hast given stability to this country by establishing thy dwelling here; if thou go away, we shall be like uprooted straws, which serve only as sport for the winds. This Land is an unstable Island, and is likely to be submerged in the first storm; do thou establish it, and posterity will praise thee, and hold thine act in perpetual remembrance. At the first news of this death, we forsook everything; and [17 i.e., 19] we bring with us nothing but tears and repentance,—ready to execute, by way of reparation for the crime perpetrated, whatever thou shalt command us. Speak, therefore; what wilt thou have? Thine are our lives, and, much more, our goods; we

noſtri fdegni, e per te altro nō hauerem mai, che amore, e veneratione Per riſpoſta ſe gli diede vn faſcetto di baſtoncelli vn poco più lunghi, e groſſi de ſolfaroli, che cōteneuano il numero de preſēti, che dimādauiamo per ſodisfattione dell' homicidio. I noſtri Chriſtiani ci haueano informati di tutti i loro coſtumi, & effortati ad offeruarli eſattamēte, ſe nō voleuamo pregiudicare non ſolo à noi, ma anco alla cauſa di Dio, & alla fede. I Capitani diuiſero tra loro i baſtoncelli, accioche ogni natione cōcorreſſe à i preſenti, che addimandauamo. Andò per queſto ogn' vno alla ſua terra. Niuno in particolare è coſtretto à queſta cōtributione, ma à gara tra di loro, ſecōdo che ſono più, ò meno ricchi, procurano tutti di partecipare à queſti publici peſi, per moſtrarſi più affettionati al ben cōmune. Fù dūque deſtinato vn giorno per il ritorno, e per fare la cerimonia con tutte le ſolennità del paefe, e fù li 11. di Maggio. La ſera innanzi 4. Capitani furono deputati dal conſiglio generale per abboccarci, dui erano Chriſtiani, e dui infedeli. Si preſentarono alla porta, ma come nō ſi parla in queſte occaſioni ſenza preſenti, fecero all' entrata il primo, che fù, acciò ſe gli apriffe la porta. Il ſecondo acciò ſe gli permetteſſe l' entrata, e quante porte haueuano da paſſare, altrettanti preſenti haueſſimo potuto da loro eſigere. Entrati che furono, cominciarono à parlare con vn preſente, che chiamano aſciugamento di lagrime, accioche non li riguardaffimo più con occhio torbido. Il ſecondo chiaman vna potion medicinale per rimetterci la voce, che

will gladly despoil ourselves of them to satisfy thee; we will despoil our children, to content thee; nor will we accuse thee herein, but only him who involved us in guilt. Against him shall we direct our resentment, and for thee we shall never have anything but love and veneration." In answer, there was given him a parcel of small sticks, a little longer and thicker than matches, which indicated the number of presents that we required by way of satisfaction for the murder. Our Christians had informed us of all their customs, and exhorted us to observe them exactly, unless we would arouse prejudice not only against ourselves, but also against the cause of God and the faith. The Captains divided the sticks among them, so that every nation should contribute toward the presents which we asked. For this purpose every one went to his own village. No individual is obliged to make this contribution, but they vie with one another, according as they are more or less rich, in sharing these public burdens, in order to show their devotion to the common weal. A day was therefore set for the return, in order to perform the ceremony with all the solemnity of the country. This was the 11th of May. On the eve of this event, 4 Captains were delegated by the general council to confer with us; two were Christians, and two infidels. They presented themselves at the door; but as there is no speaking on these occasions without gifts, they made the first one at the entrance: which was to the end that the door might be opened to them. They made a second, that they might be permitted to enter; and, as many doors as they had to pass, so many gifts we might have required of them. When they had entered, they began to speak, offering us a present

haueuamo perfa, e per farla vfcire per l' auuenire più dolce. Il terzo per placar la mente agitata da penfieri di dolore. Il quarto per addolcire il cuore giuftamēte irritato. Quefti prefenti fono la maggior parte di que' granelli di cōchiglie marine, che i Francefi han chiamati, come habbiamo detto, porcellana, e fimili cofuccie. vera pouertà in Europa, ma molto ftimate in que' paefi. Aggiunfero à quefti altri noue prefenti per alzare vn fepolcro al defonto, ogn' vno con il fuo proprio nome, quattro per le 4. colonne, che doueano foftenere il fepolchro, e quattro per li quattro trauerfi, che fanno il cataletto del morto, il nono per feruirgli di guanciale. Doppo [18 i.e., 20] otto Capitani delle otto nationi Hurone portorno ciafcuno vn prefente per le otto offa più principali del corpo humano, come de' piedi, gambe, braccia &c. E quì il coftume loro ci obligò di parlare, cioè di fare vn prefente di 3000. di que' granelli per rimetter in piedi il paefe rouinofo, e ftabilirlo, accioche poteffe foftenere i rimproueri, che gli fareffimo per il misfatto commeffo.

La mattina feguente alla prefenza d' vn gran popolo concorfo da ogni parte fecero come vn teatro in vna piazza publica, oue fofpefero 50. prefenti, che fono la fodisfatione principale, il refto già riferito non effendo che come vno accefforio. Per vn' Hurone ammazato da vn' altro Hurone fi contentano per l' ordinario di 30 prefenti. Per vna donna ne dimandano 40. sì perche effe non fi poffono difendere come gli huomini, sì anche perche popolano i paefi, onde la vita loro

which they call "the drying of tears," in order that we might no longer regard them with clouded eyes. The second they call a medicinal potion for restoring our voice to us, which we had lost, and for causing it to sound more softly in future. The third, to appease the mind agitated by thoughts of grief. The fourth, to soothe the heart, justly provoked. These gifts are mostly of those beads of marine shells which the French, as we have said, have called *porcelaine*,—and similar trifles, utterly valueless in Europe, but much esteemed in those countries. They added to these, nine other gifts, to erect a sepulcher to the deceased,—every one with its own peculiar name; four were for the 4 columns which were to support the sepulcher, and four for the four stretchers which form the coffin of the dead; the ninth, to serve him as a pillow. Afterward, [18 i.e., 20] eight Captains of the eight Huron nations brought each a present for the eight principal bones of the human body; those of the feet, legs, arms, etc. And here their custom obliged us to speak,—that is, to make a present of 3000 of those beads, in order to put the ruined country on its feet again, and strengthen it so that it could bear the reproaches which we might make against it for the crime perpetrated.

The following morning, in the presence of a great multitude assembled from every direction, they made a sort of stage in a public square, where they suspended 50 gifts, which form the principal satisfaction: the remainder, already referred to, being only a sort of accessory. For a Huron slain by another Huron, they usually content themselves with 30 presents. For a woman, they ask 40. This is partly because they cannot defend themselves like the

deue effere più pretiofa al publico, e la loro debolezza deue hauere più grande appoggio dalla giuftitia. Per vn foraftiero ne domandano più, perche altrimente dicono gli homicidij farebbono continui, il commercio fi perderebbe, e fi farebbe facilmēte guerra con le nationi ftraniere. Non è finita ancora la cerimonia Il corpo, à cui fù alzato il fepolcro, non vi deue ripofar nudo; bifogna riueftirlo, come era in vita, e per quefto fecero tre prefenti per vna camicia, vn giuppone, calzoni &c. e per vn' archibugio con poluere, e palle, che il morto hauea; e per ritirare dalla piaga l' accetta mortale aggionfero anche vn prefente. Quanti colpi hà riceuuto il morto, tanti prefenti haurebbero douuto fare, per rifaldarli vi aggionfero ancora tre altri prefenti; il primo per chiuder la terra, che fi era aperta, il fecondo per affodarla, e quì tutti incominciarono, fecondo il loro coftume, à ballare in fegno d' allegrezza; il terzo per impedire con vna groffa pietra (come dicono) che quell' abiffò non s' apriffe mai più: e fette altri, primo per rendere la voce à miffionanti, fecondo per efortare i noftri domeftici à non riuolgere l' armi contro l' homicida, ma contro i loro nimici; il terzo per riaccendere il fuoco, che teneuamo fempre accefo per comodo de paffaggieri, il quarto per riaprir la porta dell' Hofpizio de' noftri Chriftiani che frequentemente alloggiuamo, il quinto per rimettere nell' acqua il batello, del quale ci feruiamo per farli paffare il fiume quando veniuano à vifitarci, il fefto per rimetter il remo nelle mani d' vn giouane, che haueua cura di

men, partly, too, because they people the countries,—on which account, their lives should be more precious to the public, and their weakness should have greater support from justice. For an alien they ask more; because otherwise, they say, murders would be continuous, trade would be ruined, and war would easily occur with foreign nations. The ceremony is not yet finished. The body for which the sepulcher was erected must not repose there naked; it is necessary to clothe it as it was in life. Accordingly they made three presents, for a shirt, a doublet, breeches, etc., and for an arquebus with powder and balls, which the deceased had; and, to withdraw from the wound the deadly hatchet, they added a further present. As many blows as the dead has received, so many gifts they would have been obliged to make, in order to heal the wounds. Thereto they added three more presents: the first, to close the earth, which had opened itself; the second, to make it solid,—and here all began, according to their custom, to dance in token of gladness; the third, to prevent, with a great stone (as they say), that chasm from ever opening again. There were also seven others: the first, to restore speech to the missionaries; the second, to exhort our domestics not to turn their arms against the murderer, but against their enemies; the third, to rekindle the fire which we kept always lighted for the convenience of travelers; the fourth, to open again the door of the Hospice for our Christians, whom we frequently lodged; the fifth, to put back in the water the boat which we used for conveying them across the river when they came to visit us; the sixth, to restore the paddle to the hands of a young man who had charge of that

quel passaggio, il settimo per l' Illustrissimo Signor Governatore, che chiamano Onontio. [19 i.e., 21] N' hauereffimo potuto esigere due altri per riedificare la nostra Casa, e Chiesa, e per ereggere quattro Croci, che erano nelli quattro angoli del nostro distretto, ma ci contentammo di quelli, che spontaneamente ci offerfero. Tre de' primi Capitani conclusero la cerimonia con tre presenti gratuiti, che fecero per esortarci ad esser sempre costanti in amarli. Tutti questi presenti arriuarono à cento.

Per risposta facemmo ancor noi de presenti à ciascheduna delle otto nationi per rinodare, e cōfermare l' antica amicitia, per esortarli à star sempre vniti, e d' accordo, e tra di loro, e con i Francesi, per meglio resistere a' loro nemici, per impedire le maledicenze, che correuano contro la fede ed i Christiani, i quali incolpauano d' ogni sinistro accidente per consolarli della perdita di alcuni de' loro vecchi da gl' inimici, & in fine assicurarli, che l' Illustriss. Sig. Governatore, che era il Signor Caualiere di Montmagnì, e tutti i Francesi si scordarebbero per sempre di quell' homicidio, per il quale haueuano secondo i loro costumi pienamente sodisfatto.

Ecco come puniscono gli homicidij, e quando i presenti mancano al secondo, ò al terzo si dichiarano le guerre tra le nationi.

passage; the seventh, for the most Illustrious Signor Governor, whom they call Onontio. [19 i.e., 21] We might have required two others, to rebuild our House and Church, and to erect four Crosses which were at the four corners of our territory; but we contented ourselves with those which they offered us voluntarily. Three of the first Captains concluded the ceremony with three gratuitous gifts, which they made to exhort us to be always constant in loving them. All these presents amounted to a hundred.

In return, we also made gifts to each of the eight nations, to bind up again and to confirm the old friendship; to exhort them to be always united and at peace, both among themselves and with the French, in order the better to resist their enemies; to prevent the slanders which were current against the faith and the Christians, whom they accused of every disastrous accident; to console them for the loss of some of theirs, killed by the enemies; and finally, to assure them that the most Illustrious Signor Governor, who was the Signor Chevalier de Montmagnè, and all the French, would forever forget that murder,—for which they had, according to their customs, made full satisfaction.

It is thus that they punish murders; and, when presents are not forthcoming at the second or the third time, wars are declared among the nations.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA: VOL. XXXVIII

LXXXI

For bibliographical particulars of the *Relation* of 1651-52, see Vol. XXXVII.

LXXXII

The bibliography of the *Journal des Jésuites* was given in Vol. XXVII.

LXXXIII

In reprinting Bressani's *Breve Relazione* we follow the original Italian text, from a copy in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. It is not described in HARRISSE'S *Notes*; but the omission is evidently unintentional, as he refers to it in the note appended to no. 475. The volume is dedicated to Cardinal de Lugo "Di Macerata li 19. Luglio 1653."

Collation: Title, with verso blank, 1 leaf; dedication, with privilege dated "Romæ 26. Martij 1653" on the verso, 1 leaf; text, beginning with the "Proemio" or introduction, pp. 1-127 (for pp. 1-129), with "Tauola de' Capitoli" on verso of p. 127. The signatures are: Two preliminary leaves, A in four, B in five, C-Q in fours. The insertion of a leaf between sig. B, and B₂ is responsible for the omission of two pages of the pagination, namely on the verso of B, and on the verso of the inserted leaf.

Copies have been sold or priced as follows: Quar-

itch (1860), no. 3930, priced at £3. 3s; Leclerc (1867), no. 209, sold for 70 fr., and (1878), no. 684, priced at 350 fr.; Murphy sale (1884), no. 343, sold for \$16; Barlow (1890), no. 333, sold for \$27; Silvio Bocca, of Rome, priced (1892) at 200 lire, and (1896) 100 lire; Dufossé (1891-96), priced at 150 to 200 fr.; Maisonneuve, of Paris, priced (1898) at 200 fr.; and Jacques Rosenthal, of Munich, priced (1898) at 175 marks. There are copies in the following libraries: Lenox, Brown (private), Ayer (private), State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Provincial Parliament (Ottawa), St. Mary's College (Montreal), Laval University (Quebec), British Museum, and Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris).

In 1852, the Rev. Felix Martin, S.J., published a French translation of Bressani, in which he included some important additions. It collates as follows:

Relation abrégée, | de | Quelques Missions | des |
Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus | dans la | Nou-
velle-France, | Par le | R. P. F.-J. Bressany [*sic*], |
de la même Compagnie. | Traduit de l'Italien et
augmenté d'un avant-propos, de la Biographie de
l'Auteur, | et d'un grand Nombre de Notes et de
Gravures, | par le | R. P. F. Martin, | de la même
Compagnie. | Montréal: | Des Presses à Vapeur de
John Lovell, Rue St. Nicolas. | 1852.

Engraved title, with verso blank, 1 leaf; printed title, with verso blank, 1 leaf; "Avant-propos du Traducteur," pp. 5-11; p. 12, blank; "Biographie du P. François-Joseph Bressany," pp. 13-45; p. 46, blank; "Épître dédicatoire," p. 47; privilege, p. 48; "Introduction," pp. 49 and 50; text of Bressani, pp. 51-290; "Appendice," pp. 291-336; a separate slip of "Errata."

The appendix contains several important documents, among them Father Jogues's "Novum Belgium;" a note on "Wampum;" a list of the Fathers who served in the mission to the Hurons; a "Précis historique sur la Mission Huronne" (9½ pp.); and "Notes sur la Géographie ancienne du Canada" (11 pp.). The book is illustrated with numerous cuts and maps, many of which are in the text. An "Explication des Gravures," on pp. 330-333, will sufficiently locate them for the book-collector.

The French translation is common enough, and may be found, generally, in collections of Canadiana. The market value may be estimated from the following data: Thomas W. Field sale (1875), no. 197, fetched \$1.62; O'Callaghan (1882), no. 377, sold for \$2.75; Murphy (1884), no. 342, sold for \$3.50; Dufossé, priced (1891) at 10 fr.; Chadenat, priced (1896) at 12 fr.

Martin's work was made the basis for a popular account of the early Jesuits in Canada, published at Montreal, in 1877, by Rev. Theodore Fleck, S.J., under the title, *Les Jésuites Martyrs du Canada*.

NOTES TO VOL. XXXVIII

(*Figures in parentheses, following number of note, refer to pages of English text.*)

1 (p. 35).—Reference is probably made here to John Winslow, one of the Plymouth merchants engaged in the Kennebec trade (vol. xxxvi., notes 7, 14).

2 (p. 39).—The "Acadian Patriarchs" were the Capuchin Fathers (vol. xxx., note 22).

3 (p. 49).—*High mightinesses*: see vol. xxii., note 14.

4 (p. 109).—Jean Bagot was born at Rennes, France, in 1591, and at the age of nineteen entered the Jesuit novitiate. After his ordination, he was successively a teacher of theology, censor of books for the Jesuit general at Rome, and head of the Congregations of the Blessed Virgin in France. Bagot wrote various controversial works, especially those attacking Jean Rousse, of Paris, regarding the obligation of confession.

5 (p. 145).—The Feuillants were a reformed congregation of Cistercians, founded in 1577 by Jean de la Barrière. The latter order, a branch of the Benedictines, was founded in 1098, at Cîteaux (Cistercium), five leagues from Dijon, by St. Robert. It was from this monastery that St. Bernard went forth to found that of Clairvaux (vol. xxxi., note 5).

6 (p. 149).—*Banquier*: according to Littré, a broker, or agent, employed at the court of Rome to expedite the despatch of bulls, dispensations, etc. Cf. Marie de l'Incarnation's remark as to a bull desired by the Ursulines — *Lettres* (Richaudeau's ed.), t. i., p. 429.

Father Jones remarks upon this passage in our text, "It means that she would not hear of any mitigation of the austerities of religious life, or of any exceptional expense in her case, or of dispensations, . . . for, of course, in cases like the above, there was no need of applying to the Pope, or to bankers."

7 (p. 171).—Claude Charron, born 1621, was a merchant of Quebec, of which town he was elected an alderman in 1663. In that year also, he was a member of the Tadoussac trading company. The date of his death is not recorded, but was after 1686.

8 (p. 171).—Louis Couillard, eldest son of Guillaume (vol. xii., *note* 27), bore the title of Sieur de l'Espinay. His wife was a daughter of Nicolas Després (vol. xxxvii., *note* 4); they had six children.

9 (p. 173).—See Lalemant's commendation of this *donné* in vol. vi., pp. 55–57.

10 (p. 175).—A son of Jean Guyon (vol. xxvii., *note* 16); Simon was born in 1621, and died in 1682.

11 (p. 175).—François Boulé (vol. xxviii., *note* 20) was a farmer at Cap Rouge, as was also Pierre Garemand (vol. xxvii., *note* 12).

12 (p. 181).—*Skia,é* was the Huron name of the Sault Ste. Marie; by the *Enskia,éronnons* are doubtless meant the tribe there resident, better known as *Sauteurs* (vol. xviii., *note* 16). The rendezvous mentioned in the text was evidently located on the east shore of Lake Michigan. As this was a gathering of Algonkin tribes, it was probably the *Nipissings*, not the *Winnebagoes*, who were intended by the term *Aweatsiwaenronnons* (vol. x., *note* 7).

Sken'chio,é, the place where the remnant of the *Neutrals* spent the winter, seems to be mentioned only in this place; but the etymology of the name, and the location of the *Skenchionronons* (vol. viii., p. 302), would suggest that this place was, or had been, the residence of that tribe. Coyne says (*Country of Neutrals*, p. 19): "This is probably the last we hear of the *Neutrals* under their own name. Some of the survivors united with the remnant of the *Hurons* at *Mackinac* and on *Lake Superior*; and under the names of *Hurons* and *Wyandots* they appear from time to time on the page of history. Their removal to *Detroit*, on the establishment of the latter trading-post by *Cadillac*, is perpetuated by the name of *Wyandotte*, to the south of that city."

13 (p. 185).—Ragueneau's handwriting ends here, and is followed by that of Jerome Lalemant, until Aug. 21, pending the arrival of the new superior, Le Mercier.

Christophe Crevier, sieur de la Meslé, came from the vicinity of La Rochelle, France, with his family to Quebec, about 1638; soon afterward, he settled at Three Rivers,—where he acquired (1655–60) the fief of St. Christophe. One of his daughters, Jeanne, became (1650) the second wife of Pierre Boucher, governor of Three Rivers, by whom she had sixteen children. Two of Crevier's sons were killed by the *Iroquois*.

Guillaume Pelletier (Peltier), a native of Perche, is first mentioned as a colonist in 1646; his wife was Michelle Morille. He died in November, 1657.

François Belanger, a native of Normandy, came to Quebec as early as 1636. In the following year, he married Marie, daughter

of Jean Guyon (vol. xxvii., *note* 16), by whom he had thirteen children.

Pierre Picard, born 1616, married Renée Suronne, by whom he had one son; he died at Quebec in 1676.

From this point there is no record in the *Journal* for five days (August 10-14); but there is, in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal, an interesting document of this period,—a formal request (dated Aug. 10, 1653) by the governor, De Lauson, to the Jesuits to fortify their house in Quebec for defense against the Iroquois, "since it is necessary to provide for the refuge and Safety of the Habitants of Quebecq, in case the Enemies make a Raid thereon, and as the place is entirely open and without defense,—the house of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers being the only building which can afford shelter to many persons and families, in such an emergency."

14 (p. 189).—Concerning the relations of Canada and Rouen, see vol. xvi., *note* 5. The purpose of Vimont's journey in 1647 is more fully stated in vol. xxx., p. 191. The "inquiry into the lives and holy deaths of our Fathers" had at least one result—the preparation by Ragueneau (vol. ix., *note* 40) of the MS. of 1652 upon the above subject.

From this point, the *Journal* is written by Le Mercier, until Feb. 5, 1654.

15 (p. 213).—Caraffa (vol. xxx., *note* 9) was succeeded, as general of the Jesuits, by Francesco Piccolomini (December, 1649), who died June 17, 1651. In the following January, Alessandro Gottifredi was elected general, but lived only two months thereafter. Mar. 17, 1653, Goswin Nickel was raised to this dignity, which he retained eight years,—resigning his office (June 7, 1661) in favor of Jean Paul Oliva. Three years later, he died.

16 (p. 217).—Martin (*Bressany*, p. 49, *note*) thinks that this is a reference to Du Creux's *Hist. Canadensis*; but Bressani's own statement in the text, and one or two other allusions of his, rather indicate that he himself contemplated writing a book, similar in scope to Du Creux's.

17 (p. 227).—For meaning of name Canada, see vol. ii., *note* 48.

18 (p. 233).—Detailed information concerning these localities, the early settlements on the St. Lawrence, and the history of Canada up to Bressani's time, is given in preceding volumes of this series.

19 (p. 235).—Regarding these tides, Martin says (*Bressany*, p. 62, *note* 1): "This geographical error has long been prevalent, and Chateaubriant himself adopted it. It is now known that all the great lakes of Canada have neither flow nor ebb, properly speaking. They are subject, however, at times to considerable variations of

level. These must be attributed, it would seem, to local and accidental causes,—to the violence or the persistence of winds, to the abundance or the force of certain currents of water."

Ondatawawat: the Ottawas (vol. xiv., note 9).

20 (p. 243).—Cf. descriptions of Canadian fauna given by Le Jeune (vol. vi., pp. 295–317), and Sagard (*Grand Voyage*, Tross ed., pp. 209–230).

21 (p. 245).—For value of the measure known as "palm," see vol. xxix., note 7. Martin says (*Bressany*, p. 69, note): "The Italian palm measured 8 pouces, 3 lines" of French measure,—equivalent to 8.8 inches, English measure; but this is considerably less than the value given by Littré.

22 (p. 247).—*Testone*: see vol. ix., note 39.

23 (p. 247).—*Canne*: a measure of length used in various countries, especially in Italy, the value of which is not constant; that of Naples is equivalent to two meters, twenty-nine centimeters.



